MONK AND MASON ON THE TIGRIS FRONTIER

The Early History of Ṭur ᶜAbdin

by

Andrew Palmer

Cambridge University Oriental Publications, 39

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

1989

ISBN 0 521 36026 9

MICROFICHE SUPPLEMENT

The Microfiche Supplement

contains:

A critical edition and annotated translation of

the *Qartmin Trilogy*

being the *Lives* of Samuel of Eštīn, Simeon of Qartmīn and Gabriel of Bēṯ Qūsṭān

and

a copy made by

Kenᶜān, the son of Denḥō, of Fōfyāṯ,

of the *Book of Life*,

being a book of remembrance, associated with Qartmīn Abbey,

and with the village of Bēṯ Svīrīnā,

with an introduction, a gazetteer of names and places

and a commented translation of the narrative sections

TO
the late Dr.med. Elisabeth Cornet
(2.11.1920 - 1.3.1989)
in gratitude and admiration
I dedicate this edition of the Book of Life

PREFACE

Of the sources used in *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier* four are singled out in the Introduction for special attention. They are the *Chronicle of 819*, edited by Barṣawm from a MS then in Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā and translated into Latin by Chabot, the *Qartmin Trilogy*, large sections of which have been edited and translated into French by Nau, the *Calendar of Tur ᶜAbdin*, edited and translated into Latin by Peeters, and the *Book of Life*, fragments of which have been edited by Barṣawm and translated into Arabic by Behnām. (This last ought not to be confused with the text edited under the same title by Connolly and Codrington in 1913.) A complete edition of the *Qartmin Trilogy* with a translation into English is given in the first part of this Microfiche Supplement, the second part of which is devoted to a reproduction of a copy of the *Book of Life*, with an introduction, a gazetteer of names and places and an annotated translation of the narrative sections.

There is another MS of the *Qartmin Trilogy* in Damascus, which I hope to collate for an improved edition. But since more than half of *Monk and Mason* is based on this text, it must be made available to the reader, albeit in provisional form, without delay. The *Book of Life* is also indispensable, not so much because it is referred to as a source for some details in *Monk and Mason*, as with respect to its value as a counterweight to the monastic sources which so dominate our view of the early period. It is true that the period about which it is most informative is later than that covered by *Monk and Mason*; yet it is not unsound to set fifteenth-century villagers alongside fifth-century monks in the imagination, if the exercize suggests credible inerpretations of the relationship between village and monastery through the centuries. The *Book of Life* also helps to complete our knowledge of the nomenclature and topography of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn. But much research must be done, both into the MSS and on the text itself, before a critical edition can be produced. When that stage is reached it will also be time for a complete and fully-indexed translation.

In *Monk and Mason*, p. xvii, I explain the system of transcription used in the printed book. This Microfiche Supplement, however, is more philological in nature and I have changed my practice accordingly. For the transcription of Arabic I have been guided by Dr Geert Jan van Gelder (Groningen) - although any mistakes are certainly due to my negligence. Geert Jan advised me, in this and other respects, with generous promptitude and an agreeable mixture of interest and light-heartedness.

With Syriac it is less easy to satisfy all experts, since some transcribe according to principles derived from inference as to the historical etymology, while others follow contemporary learned practice among the Syrians themselves, whether eastern or western. I have opted for the latter, because West Syrians inhabit Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn today. However, there is some uncertainty among them as to the softening of the consonants B, G, D, K, P and T: my own teacher, Malfono ᶜĪsā Gülten, strives for a harmonious combination of custom, Barhebraean doctrine and the principle that Ṭūrōyō may be used as a guide. Observing that some dialects still use a hard P, whereas the influence of Arabic, which has no hard P, has made this virtually obsolete in others (just as B has come to predominate over V, as in the pronunciation of "Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn" and "Ba Sabrina"), he is especially ready to correct customary pronunciation in this way; in general I have been guided by what he taught me. But since I have been unable to consult him in individual cases, the chance that errors have crept in through my ignorance is even greater than in the case of Arabic. There is no standard system of Syriac transcription; and what is required here is a system which is not too complex. The semi-vowel is not indicated and the vowel before a consonant is lengthened to indicate that it was once doubled. All vowels not marked as long are short.

One-for-one transcription of the consonants was made possible by the *Special Languages Supplement* of the word-processing program *Nota Bene*; Dr Harry Gaylord and his colleagues at the Department of Literary and Linguistic Computing in Groningen enabled me to use this program with some degree of success, although I had no time to learn it properly first. The translation of the *Qartmin Trilogy* had long before been set up painstakingly opposite the corresponding pages of the text by Sylvia Sylvester on an IBM Displaywriter and stands, albeit incongruously, as a monument to the innumerable days and nights she devoted to *Monk and Mason*.

Like this Preface, every section of the Microfiche Supplement has a running header, which tells you which section and which sub-section you are in, and a page-count, showing where you are in that section. The bottom row of frames on each microfiche contains the complete alphabetical listing of the Abbreviations, Bibliography and Glossary, followed by a synoptic repertory of the whole supplement. Do not use the grid-numbers to refer to the Microfiches; the repertory is based on section-numbers and headings. *E.g.* G.2.5 is the fifth item in the notes on the men's names, which comes second in the section devoted to the gazetteer.

Andrew Palmer,
Institute of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies,
University of Groningen, The Netherlands
10th July, 1989

TITLE PAGE

Preface

Contents

PART ONE

A. THE *QARTMIN TRILOGY*: PROLEGOMENA

1. The MSS and the stemma

2. MSS not collated

3. Description of the MSS
   3.1. Br. Lib., MS Add. 17,265 = **Aa**
   3.2. İstanbul, MS Yeni 196 (formerly MS 7) = **B**
   3.3. Graffin, [1893] notebook from Pognon bequest = **P**

4. The background
   4.1. The work of others
   4.2. My work

5. The stemma: proofs

6. The method of edition

B. THE *QARTMIN TRILOGY*: ANNOTATED EDITION AND TRANSLATION

C. THE *QARTMIN TRILOGY*: INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

D. THE *QARTMIN TRILOGY*: INDEX OF GREEK LOAN WORDS

PART TWO

E. THE *BOOK OF LIFE*: INTRODUCTION

1. The MSS

2. Internal Evidence

3. Context

4. Function

5. Historical Value

F. THE *BOOK OF LIFE*: SYRIAC TEXT

G. THE *BOOK OF LIFE*: GAZETTEER

1. Men's Names

2. Notes on the Men's Names

3. Women's Names

4. Place-Names

5. Notes on the Place-Names

6. Cartographical Analysis

H. THE *BOOK OF LIFE*: TRANSLATION OF THE NARRATIVE SECTIONS

N.B. The Abbreviations, Bibliography and Glossary are repeated on the bottom row of each microfiche with a synoptic repertory of the whole Supplement.

Add. - Additional

Anschütz (1984) - H. Anschütz, *Die syrischen Christen vom Tur ᶜAbdin* (Das östliche Christentum N.F. 34; Würzburg, 1984)

Armalet (1936) - I. Armalet, *Catalogue des mss de Charfet* (Ğūniyya, 1936)

Ayoub (1978) - Barsom Youssef Ayoub, "A bibliography about the bishop Grigorius Boulos Behnam and his writings", *Oriens Christianus* 62 (1978), pp. 200-6.

Bar Ṣalībī - Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Expositio liturgiae*, ed. J. Labourt, ([Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, scriptores syri =] CSCO, syr., II, 93; Paris, 1903)

Barṣawm (1943) - Ignatius Ephrem I Barṣawm, Syrian Orthodox patriarch, Kitāb al-lu'lu' al-manṯūr fī tārīḫ al-ᶜulūm wa-l-ādāb al-suryāniyya [*Book of the Scattered Pearls in the History of Syriac Science and Literature*]: *Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaque*, in Arabic (Ḥoms, 1943; repr. Aleppo, 1956; Baghdad, 1976; Glane, 1987); Syriac translation by Philoxenos John Dōlabānī, bishop of Mardīn, Ktōvō d-vērūlē bḏīrē d-ᶜal mardūṯ yūlpōnē sūryōyē ḥḏīrē (Qāmišlī, 1967).

Barṣawm (1964) - Ignatius Ephrem I Barṣawm, Syrian Orthodox patriarch, Maḥtvōnūṯō d-ᶜal aṯrō ḏ-Ṭūr ᶜAvdīn [*Monograph on the Region of Tur ᶜAbdin*] edited in Syriac and (1967) translated into Arabic as Tarīḫ Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn by Gregory Paul Behnām, bishop of Baghdad and Boṣra (Ğūniyya, 1964).

Baumstark (1922) - [C./K.]A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922)

Behnām (1959) - Gregory Paul Behnām, bishop of Baghdad and Boṣra, Nafaḥāt al-ḫazām (or al-ḫuzām) aw ḥayāt al-baṭriyark Afrām [*Scents of Lavender* (or *of Tulips*) *or The Life of the Patriarch Ephrem*] (Mossul, 1959); cf. Ayoub (1978), p. 203.

Bell/Mango (1982) - G.[M.L.] Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur ᶜAbdin*, with an introduction and notes by M.M. Mango (London, 1982)

Berkers (1962) - J.N. Berkers, "Catalogue des mss du fonds patriarcal de Raḥmānī conservés à Charfet, contenant des anaphores", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 12 (1962), pp. 224-42

B. N. - MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Br. Lib. - MS in the British Library, London

Briquel-Chatonnet (1985) - F. Briquel-Chatonnet, "Note sur l'histoire du monastère de Saint-Gabriel de Qartamin", *Le Muséon, revue d'études orientales* 98 (1985), pp. 95-102

Brock (1979) - S.P. Brock, "The Fenqitho of the monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur ᶜAbdin", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979), pp. 168-82

Cal. TA - P. Peeters, ed., "Le Martyrologe de Rabban Sliba", *Analecta Bollandiana* 27 (1908), pp. 129-200

Chorepiscopus - The highest office for married clergy in the Syrian Orthodox Church

Chr. Addai 1503 - The last section (foll. 194b.1 - 201a.2) of the text in the Bodleian MS Hunt No. 52, which is reproduced and translated in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj (1225-1286), the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, Being the First Part of his Political History of the World*, vol. 2 (London, 1932; reprinted Amsterdam, 1976), pp. xxxvii-liii

Chr. Gregory II, *Chr. Gregory III* - J.-B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy, eds., *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon ecclesiasticum* (Louvain, 1872-77), two Parts in three fascicules, being the second and third parts of his History of theWorld, with a continuation up to c.1500

Chr. Michael 1195, Register of Ordinations - J.B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche 1166-1199*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1910), pp. 448-482, being a French translation of foll. 752-768 of the Edessene Syriac MS reproduced there in facsimile

Chr. Qartmin 819 - A. Barsaum, ed., *Chronicon anonymum ad a.D.819 pertinens*, in J.B. Chabot, ed., *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad an. Chr. 1234 pertinens*, vol. 1 (CSCO, syr. III, 14 = 81, 109, scr. syr. 36, 56; Louvain, 1920)

Chr. Zuqnin 775 - J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Incerti auctoris chronicon anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, vol. 2 (CSCO, syr. III, 2, T. = 104, scr. syr. 53; Louvain, 1933); for a translation, see provisionally J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré* (Paris, 1895)

Connolly (1912) - R.H. Connolly, "The Book of Life", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 13 (1912), pp. 580-94

Connolly and Codrington (1913) - R.H. Connolly and H.W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy, by George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, and Moses Bar Kepha; Together with the Syriac Anaphora of St James and a Document Entitled the Book of Life* (London, 1913)

Damascus - MS in the library of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and of All the East, Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate, Bāb Tūmā, Damascus, Syria

Dōlabānī (1959) - Bishop Philoxenos John Dōlabānī, Maḫtavzavnō d-ᶜūmrō qādīšō d-Qarṭmīn [*The History of the Holy Abbey of Qartmin*], in Syriac (Mardīn, 1959)

Dolapönü (1954) - Metropolit Hanna Dolapönü (the same as the foregoing), "Siirt ili ve Süryaniler" (in Turkish), *Öz Hikmet* 9-10/90-91, 8th year (Aug./Sept., 1954), pp. 202-5

Evelyn White (1932) - H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun*, Part 2, *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis* (New York, 1932)

Fiey (1982) - J.M. Fiey, "Diocèses et évêques syriaques occidentaux du Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn après le XIII^{e} siècle", *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1981-82), pp. 257-84

Garšūnī - Syrian Christian Arabic, written in Syriac letters

Glane - Publication of the Bar Hebraeus Verlag, St Ephrem der Syrer Kloster, 7585 PK Glane/Losser, Glanerbrugstraat 33, The Netherlands

Göyünç (1969) - N. Göyünç, XVI. yüzyılda Mardin sancağı [*The province of Mardin in the sixteenth century*], in Turkish (İstanbul, 1969)

Göyünç (1974) - N. Göyünç, "Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn im 16. Jh. nach den osmanischen Katasterbüchern", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, supp. 2 (1974), pp. 142-8

Graffin - François Graffin, S.J., Professor Emeritus, 42, rue de Grenelle, Paris 755007 (in a reference to a MS)

Gülten - Malfono ᶜĪsā Gülten, formerly Gülcan, known as Gāris, of Bōtē in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, in a notebook filled with extracts from the *Book of Life*, made for me in 1980, and in notes between brackets in the text of the same *Book of Life*, as published here in the hand of Kenᶜān of Fōfyaṭ

İstanbul - MS in the library of the Church of Saint Mary the Mother of God, of the Syrian Orthodox, Karakurumsokağı 20, Tarlabaşı, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, at present in the care of Bishop Philoxenos Yusuf Çetin

Krüger (1937) - P. Krüger, *Das syrisch-monophysitische Mönchtum im Tur ᶜAb(h)din*, I (Münster in Westfalen, 1937)

Krüger (1938) - P. Krüger, "Das syrisch-monophysitische Mönchtum im Ṭūr-ᶜAb(h)dīn von seinen Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4 (1938), pp. 5-46

L. John bar Shayallah - Cambridge MS Dd. 3.8[1], foll. 82-87; cf. W. Wright and S.A. Cook, *A Catalogue of the Syriac MSS Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 979-85

L. John of Tella - E.W. Brooks, ed., *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum* (CSCO, syr. III, 25 = 7, 8, scr. syr. 7, 8; Louvain, 1907), pp. 23-95; apart from Brooks' Latin translation there exists a Dutch translation in H.G. Kleyn, *Het leven van Johannes van Tella door Elias* (Leiden, 1882)

L. Simeon of the Olives - Mardin MS 8.259, pp. 203-47; cf. Dōlabānī (1959), pp. 125-60 and S.P. Brock, "The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur ᶜAbdin", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979), pp. 168-82

L. Theodotos - Damascus MS 12/18, foll. 58b-69b; cf. A. Vööbus, "Découverte de la biographie de Théodote d'Amīd par Šemᶜōn de Samosate", *Le Muséon, revue d'études orientales* 89 (1976), pp. 39-42

Leg. Malke - P. Bedjan, ed., *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1895), pp. 421-69

Macuch (1976) - R. Macuch, *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur* (Berlin/New York, 1976)

Malfono - malfōnō: Syriac for "Teacher"

Mardīn - MS in the library of the Church of the Forty Martyrs of the Syrian Orthodox, Mardīn

Mingana - MS in the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Selly Oak College, Birmingham

Mingana (1933) - A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of MSS*, 1: *Syriac and Garshuni MSS now in the possession of the trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* (Cambridge, 1933)

Minorsky, "Uzun Ḥasan" - V. Minorsky, art. "Uzun Ḥasan", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4 vols. (1913-36)

Monk and Mason - A.[N.] Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur ᶜAbdin* (Cambridge, 1989), the book to which this microfiche belongs

Mōr - mōry: Syriac for "my lord", a title of holy persons (and of the higher clergy)

Mossul - MS in the "Archbishopric of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Mossul" (from Vööbus 1977)

Mshamshono - mšamšonō: Syriac for "Deacon"

Nau (1907) - F. Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin", *Actes du XIVème congrès international des orientalistes, Alger 1905*, Part 2 (Paris, 1907), section 2, pp. 1-75 [37-111]

Nau (1915) - F. Nau, "Un colloque du patriarche Jean avec l'émir des Agaréens et faits divers . . . avec un appendice . . . sur un diplôme qui aurait été donné par Omar à l'évêque du Ṭour ᶜAbdīn", *Journal Asiatique* XI. 5 (1915), pp. 225-79

Palmer (1982) - A. [N.] Palmer, "Sources for the Early History of Qartmīn Abbey, with Special Reference to the Period AD 400-800", typewritten D. Phil. thesis in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1982

Palmer (1983) - Andrew Palmer, Taš^{e}ṯō d-qādīšō mōry Šmūyēl w-mōry Šem^{e}ūn w-mōry Gavrīyēl [*The Story of Saint Mor Samuel, Mor Simeon and Mor Gabriel*]: Deyrul'umur manastırın messisleri Mar Şmuil, Mar Şamun ve Mar Gabriel tarihi hayatleri [*The Historical Lives of the Founders of Deyrulumur Monastery, Mor Samuel, Mor Simeon and Mor Gabriel*], in Syriac (Glane, 1983); the publishers are responsible for the vowel-signs

Palmer (1986, 1987, 1988, 1989) - A.[N.] Palmer, "Charting undercurrents in the History of the West-Syrian People: The Resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934", *Oriens Christianus* 70 (1986), pp. 37-68; "A Corpus of Inscriptions from Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn and Environs", *ibid.* 71 (1987), pp. 53-139; "The Epigraphic Diction of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn and Environs", *ibid.* 72 (1988), pp. 114-123; "The Syriac Letter-Forms of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn and Environs", *ibid.* 73 (1989; forthcoming)

Pognon (1907) - H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907)

Qartmīn Abbey - The Monastery of the House of Mōr Simeon of Qartmīn, also called Dayrō d-ᶜUmrō, Dēr al-ᶜUmr, Deyrulumur manastırı, and "Mōr Gabriel", properly, the Monastery of Mōr Samuel, Mōr Simeon and Mōr Gabriel; it is the chief monastery of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn; postal address: P.K. 4, Midyat, Mardīn, Turkey

Qartmin Trilogy - The *Lives* of Samuel of Eštīn, Simeon of Qartmīn and Gabriel of Bet Quṣṭān, as edited here

Qēlet - A village to the north of Mardīn, just west of the town of Şawrō

Rabān - rābān: Syriac for "our spiritual teacher", a title of advanced monks, usually ordained persons

Ṭūrōyō - ṭūrōyō: "The language of the mountain", i.e. the modern Aramaic dialect of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn.

Sachau - MS in the Sachau'sche Sammlung syrischer Handschriften, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Sachau (1885) - E. Sachau, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Sachau'schen Sammlung syrischer Hss* (Berlin, 1885)

Sachau (1899) - E. Sachau, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XXIII: *Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1899), pages continuously numbered

Sherwood (1957) - P. Sherwood, "Le fonds patriarcal de la bibliothèque manuscrite de Charfet", *L'Orient Syrien* 2 (1957), pp. 93-107

Socin (1881) - A. Socin, "Zur Geographie des Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 35 (1881), pp. 237-69

Sykes (1915) - M. Sykes, *The Caliphs' Last Heritage: A Short History of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1915)

Turkish 1:200,000 map of 1948 - Harta Genel Müdürlüğü 1:200,000 (Ankara, 1948), based on the [*Map of Turkey in Ottoman Script 1:200,000*] (İstanbul, 1909)

Van Helmond (1942) - B.L. van Helmond, *Mas^{c}oud du Tour ᶜAbdin: Un mystique syrien du XV^{e} siècle* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 14; Louvain, 1942)

Vööbus (1977) - A. Vööbus, "Important Discoveries for the History of the Monastery of Qartamın: New Light on the Literary Traditions Regarding its History", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977), pp. 223-7

Wiessner (1981-3) - G. Wiessner, *Christliche Kultbauten im Tur ᶜAbdin*, 2 vols. (Göttinger Orientforschungen II.4; Wiesbaden, 1981-1983)

Woods (1976) - J.E. Woods, *The Aq-quyunlu: Clan, Confederation and Empire* (Bibliotheca Islamica: Studies in Middle Eastern History, 3; Minneapolis, Chicago, 1976)

Wright (1870-72) - W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1838*, 3 vols. (London, 1870-72), pages continuously numbered

Yāqūt - Yāqūt, Muᶜǧam al-buldān [*Topographical Encyclopedia*], ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-73)

Zotenberg (1874) - H. Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux. Catalogue des mss syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1874)

End of Abbreviations, Bibliography and Glossary

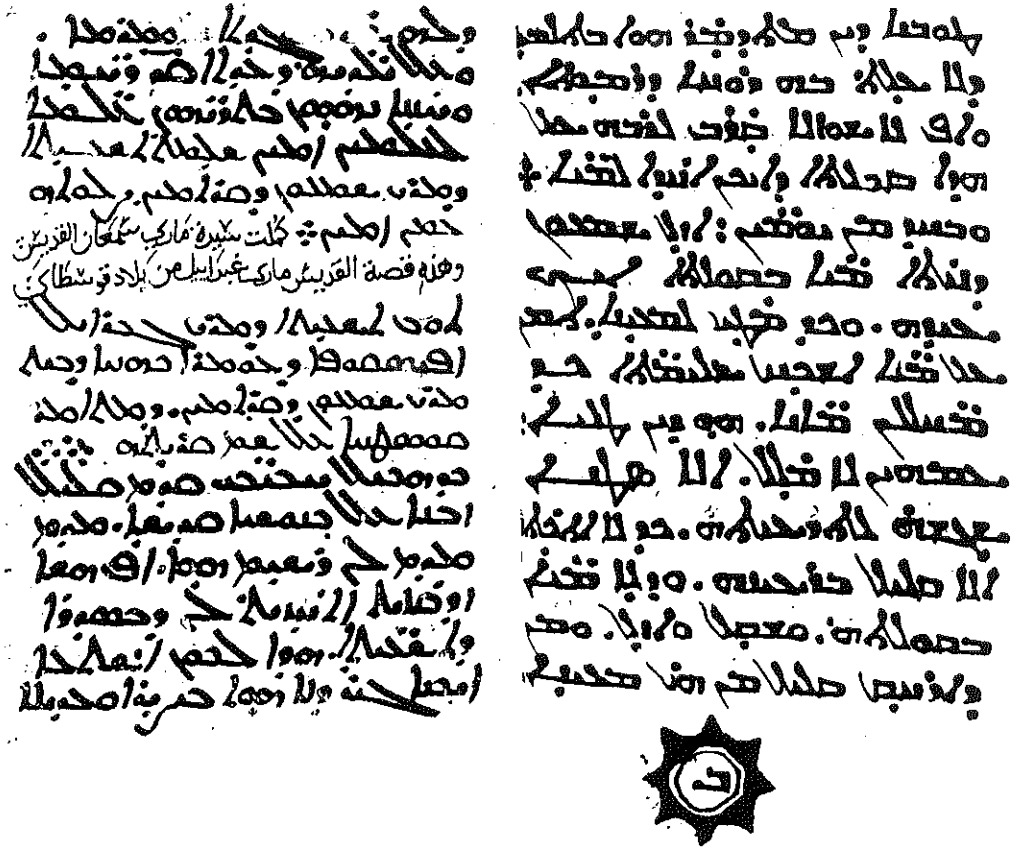
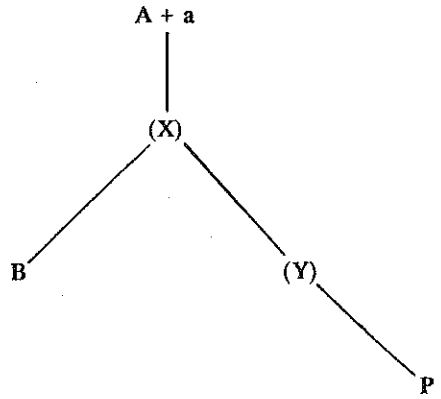


Fig. 1: THE SCRIPTS OF BR. LIB., ADD. MS 17,265: A (RIGHT) AND a (LEFT)

The fountainhead of the tradition is Br. Lib., Add. 17,265 (=Aa). The siglum has two letters representing the first and the second parts of the MS, which are of different date. Because this MS is damaged it is necessary to use İstanbul Yeni 196, referred to by Vööbus (1977) as İstanbul Meryem Ana 7 (=B), in order to recover the entire text. B derives from Aa via a lost intermediary, which may be called X. A notebook belonging to Henri Pognon, now in the care of Graffin, contains the third part of the *Qartmin Trilogy*, the *Life of Gabriel*, copied from a MS which was in the possession of the Syrian Catholic bishop of Baghdad in 1893 and which I have been unable to trace. This text appears to be an independent witness to X. I have used it to compare with B and have given it the siglum P.

In the stemma which follows here, Y represents the unknown Baghdad MS:



The arguments on which this analysis are based are set out in the following pages. Here I wish to thank the staff of the British Library, the clergy of the Syrian Orthodox Church of St Mary the Mother of God in Beyoğlu, İstanbul and Emeritus Professor François Graffin, S.J., for enabling me to collate these MSS.

1. Damascus 9/29 (Behnām 1959, p. 159; Barşawm 1943, p. 148, and 1964, pp. 35-7)

2. Sachau 221, foll. 41b-114b (Sachau 1885, p. 21; Sachau 1899, pp. 577-90)

3. B.N. 375, foll. 4b-132b (Nau 1915; Briquel-Chatonnet 1985)

4. Mardin 8.257 (Vööbus 1977); *Life of Gabriel* only

5. Mardin 8.258 (Vööbus 1977)

6. Mardin 8.262 (Vööbus 1977)

7. Mardin 8.275 (Vööbus 1977); derived directly from (4) and (5)

8. Mossul 254 (Vööbus 1977)

9. Mingana 223, foll. 1a-30b (Mingana 1933, pp. 462-63; Krüger 1937, p. 14; Vööbus 1977); *Life of Gabriel* only, in Garšūnī

10. Sachau 242 (Sachau 1885, p. 23; Sachau 1899, p. 814; Krüger 1937, p. 14); *Life of Samuel* and *Life of Simeon*, in Ṭūrōyō, preceded by an account of Ṣawrō by the scribe, Isaiah of Qēleth (the Ṭūrōyō is written in Syriac characters)

11. Sachau 239 (Sachau 1885, p. 23; Sachau 1899, pp. 813-14; Krüger 1937; p. 14); *Life of Gabriel* in Ṭūrōyō, written with Syriac letters, and in a parallel Arabic translation

N.B. I have not examined Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9 and 10.

1 very probably should have been collated, but I learned too late of its existence. Briquel-Chatonnet 1985 says that 3 resembles 2 in its readings, and differs considerably from Aa; Vööbus 1977 says that 8 differs from Aa. I assume therefore that 2-8 represent the same deviant Syriac text. I am reluctant to accept Vööbus's early date for 4 (he assigns it, on unspecified "palaeographical grounds" to the "16th or 15th century"); in any case, 2 is the oldest version of the complete text, dated 1710 at Qartmīn Abbey. Phrases like "fī dayr haykal mār yaʿqūb," *ibid.*, fol. 96b (*cf. Qartmin Trilogy* LXII.6) suggest that the *Trilogy* may have been rewritten and augmented in Arabic, then translated from Arabic into poor Syriac; 9 might preserve a part of this early Arabic version, dated 1588. 10 and 11 were apparently translated from 2 into Ṭūrōyō; the latter was translated then from Ṭūrōyō into Arabic.

Br. Lib., Add. 17,265 (Wright 1870-72, pp. 1140-41) is written in two distinct hands of different date (see fig. 1 *above*). Both parts are written on paper about 17.5 x 12.5 cm. The first part (A) consists of foll. 1-71, of which foll. 2 and 32-51 are slightly torn. The second part (a) consists of foll. 72-105, of which foll. 69, 70 and 95-105 are slightly torn. When referring to the codex as a whole I use the combined siglum Aa.

The leaves of Aa are at present bound out of sequence. The correct sequence of leaves is as follows:

First part = A:

fol. 1 (described by Wright as "part of a leaf from a neatly written Arabic MS of the XIIIth century containing a portion of a commentary on the parable of the Prodigal Son")

foll. 2-11 first quire
foll. 12-21 second quire
foll. 22-31 third quire
fol. 32 beginning of fourth quire
(two leaves missing)
fol. 71
foll. 68-70
(two leaves missing)
fol. 33 end of fourth quire
foll. 34-43 fifth quire
foll. 44-51 beginning of sixth quire
(one leaf missing)
fol. 52 end of sixth quire
foll. 53-66 seventh quire
fol. 67 beginning of eighth quire (only one leaf survives)

Second part = a:

foll. 72-80 first nine leaves of new eighth quire
fol. 83 end of new eighth quire
foll. 84-88 beginning of new ninth quire
(one leaf missing)
foll. 89-90
(one leaf missing)
fol. 94 end of new ninth quire
foll. 95-104 new tenth quire
fol. 105 beginning of new eleventh and last quire
(one leaf missing)
foll. 91-93
foll. 81-82
(three leaves missing, if we assume a quire of ten leaves; but the text finished on the first of the three).

The quires are marked OLAF to ḤETH in A, and ḤETH to YUDH + OLAF in a. All the quires, except the seventh (14 leaves), had 10 leaves. The eighth has been interrupted after the first leaf and the text has been continued in a second hand without a break, beginning with a new eighth quire. The text itself is all but finished on fol. 82, but if the eleventh quire contained ten leaves there must have been three more after fol. 81. Probably they contained the scribe's colophon and other notices.

As Wright says: "In the latter half of the volume [i.e. in a] some proper names and other words are expressed on the margins in Arabic, more rarely in Greek". On fol. 74a Arabic intrudes into the text itself, where it is used to announce the beginning of the *Life of Gabriel* (see fig. 1 *above*). The Greek names are written as if they had been transcribed from the Syriac (see *apparatus criticus»MD3»*).

History

Aa was acquired by the British Library on 11th November, 1847 from an Alexandrian dealer, Auguste Pacho, who had been commissioned by Cureton to buy books from the Coptic monks of the monastery of St Mary the Mother of God in the Nitrian desert, lower Egypt, "Dēr al-Suryān" (Wright 1870-72, p. xv). As the latter name indicates, this was once a Syrian Orthodox monastic colony. Mesopotamia, especially Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, was its chief recruiting ground. It functioned as a kind of training-house, so it is not surprising that it built up an excellent library. Many books were donated and I have little doubt that Aa was one of them. It was surely copied at Qartmīn Abbey; a number of MSS from the library of Dēr al-Suryān contain notes written in Egypt by monks noviced at Qartmīn (Evelyn White 1932).

Given Wright's dating of a, the later part of the codex, and the fact that by 1679, when Huntingdon went there, the Syrian presence at Dēr al-Suryān was a thing of the past, we can date the transference of Aa from Qartmīn to Egypt between the thirteenth and the late seventeenth century, earlier rather than later; for the decline of the monastery is reflected in the records of its library. Accessions decrease in the thirteenth century, virtually ceasing in the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth century, although "some degree of prosperity returned" in the last two decades of that century. "The last known Syriac accession was received in 1634"; two years later an Egyptian abbot was installed (Evelyn White 1932, pp. 403, 414, 415, 453).

It is possible that Aa came to Egypt before 1312/3. In that year John, "a desert monk from the Abbey of the House of Mor Simeon of Qartmīn" recorded on a fly-leaf that he had "read in this book of stories of the saints" and that there was at that time only "one single monk in this monastery, Rabbān Moses of Ḥesnō ḏ-Kīfō" (Wright 1870-2, p. 1199). If the slightly greater width of the fly-leaf is due to its having escaped a trimming by the binder of Aa, it might, as far as size and paper-quality are concerned, be from the damaged last quire of that codex. Br. Lib., Add. 17,265 and Br. Lib., Add. 14,738 may have been a single volume on the shelf of the Syrian Library in Egypt.

Former shelf mark: 7 (Vööbus 1977)

Date of examination: 29.3.1989

Binding: dark red leather, nearly black outside, covering spine and two wooden boards at back and front, which are punctured for tying leather, wood and binding together with string.

Paper: good, thin, shiny, undamaged, three centuries old at a guess.

Folia: the folia are numbered [1,2,3,] 4-356 with four unnumbered flyleaves at the end. The two unmarked fly-leaves at the beginning and the index-folio are included in the numbering. From 4 to 356 every folio is marked on the top left side of the recto with a Syriac Plain Script letter acting as a serial number. At the bottom left corner of the verso, on the diagonal, stands the first word of the next folio.

Quires: each quire is marked on the recto of the first and the verso of the last folio with a Syriac Plain Script letter, centred under the text, acting as a serial number and surrounded by decorative motifs. I omitted to count the number of folios to a quire and the total number of quires, but I did check that the MS was in order and complete.

Measurements: folios: 30 x 20.3 cm; inscribed surface after fol. 4b: 22.6 x 12.3 cm; the inscribed surface after fol. 4b is divided into two columns 5.5 cm wide, separated by a gap of 1.3 cm; the outer margin after fol. 4b is 5.6 cm, the inner 2.4 cm, the top 3.7 cm and the bottom 3.7 cm.

Ruling: There are 29 or, occasionally, 30 lines to a page. These and the margins were ruled by indentation in advance of binding. Even the blank fly-leaves at the end are ruled.

Script: (see fig. 3 below) Carefully formed, even, with elegant, flowing ligatures, sometimes of an unusual kind. It can be classified as New Plain Script, probably later than the fifteenth century, although this judgement cannot yet be demonstrated by systematic palaeography. Equally subjective, for the time being, is my impression that some individual traits are inspired by the Gerger style, as represented, for example, by İstanbul 49/46 of 1599. Many vowels are marked, though more by means of dots than by the Western, "Greek" vowels. Rukoḫō and Qušoyō are nearly always marked and for this red ink is used. Punctuation is limited in the main to a single black dot, but the end of a paragraph is indicated by two black dots on the horizontal, "crossed" on the vertical by two red dots. The heading and the conclusion of each section are written in red, without Rukoḫō and Qušoyō, but with black diacritics (this applies also to the rubrics around the cross and in the title).

Scribe: In concluding section 40 the scribe tells his name (fol. 217a.1): "The *mimro* of Mōr Iwannis is finished by the hand of ᶜVeḏ-yešuᶜ, meanest, most disgusting and most despicable of all people on earth." There is no other personal note by the scribe.

Origin; Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, to judge by the contents of sections 7-13. The Turkish glosses must have been acquired in İstanbul.

Secondary hands: Occasional glosses in Syro-Turkish on the margins, clearly later; some doodling near the beginning in purple crayon; various short notes on the front fly-leaves concerning the contents and the name of the scribe; no notes of purchase or donation; at the end, on fol.[357a], the following in ball-point: "This holy book, collected by the sons of the church for the benefit of my sons, (*sic*: perhaps "the sons of..." with a word omitted by error) "was examined by Chorepiscopus ᶜAzīz Günel of Kafarzē while he was in the service of the church of the Syrian Orthodox, with his brother, that is, his brother in the priesthood and in service, Chorepiscopus Samuel Akdemir of Zāz, in the year 1976 of Christ in the month of October, on a Tuesday at 12 o'clock of the noonday. It was raining at that hour."

Contents: This description does not give *incipit* and *excipit*, but only the list of contents as given in the index on fol. 3a-b and confirmed by me. Sections 54-62 are assigned there by an oversight to foll. 129-134: I have corrected this to 329-334. Fol. 3 is provided with an identical coloured frame of twisted strands, containing 32 circular compartments, making 64 in all. The first compartment is unnumbered, the rest are numbered in red (except for 1, which is numbered in black) at the top right, in a mixture of Estrangēlō and Plain Script letters, from left to right and from top to bottom, in the order of words on a normal page of Syriac
The following is a translation of the index, including at the end of each item the number of the folio on which it starts, which the scribe gives in black Plain Script under the serial number:

No.	*Description*:	*Folio*
0	In the name of God we write *item*: an index making known the narratives	
1	The first letter which descended from heaven in the time of the emperor Constantine: 1 (actually 4b)	
2	The second letter which descended from heaven upon the city of Rome: 8	
3	The third letter which descended from heaven at the time of Paul's revelation: 12	
4	The martyrdom of Ignatius the Fiery, patriarch of Antioch, which took place in the city of Rome: 13	
5	The story of Clement and of his parents and brothers, how they too were converted by Simon Cephas: 18	
6	The story of the holy Mōr Iwānīs, that Mouth of Gold (John Chrysostom = JCh) and chief of the chief priests: 24	

7 The martyrdom of the holy Mōr Qūryāqōs and Yūlīṭī, his, mother (Cyriac and Julitta): 43
8 Of Mōr Jacob the recluse who [lived] in the monastery of Ṣālaḥ with his companions: 47
9 Of Mōr Bossus and his sister Susan and their spiritual teacher Longinus and his servant Stephen: 68
10 A tale relating how the Cross appeared in the land of Persia: 75
11 The story of Mōr Samuel (Samuel of Eštīn), his prayer (be) with us, Amen!: 78
12 The story of the most glorious Mōr Simeon who is called Qartmīnoyo (from the village of Qartmīn): 90
13 The story of Mōr Gabriel, bishop of the Abbey of the House of Simeon: 99
14 Of Peter the chief tax-collector from the city of Africa: 113
15 Of the holy Mōr Gregory: on magicians and diviners and wizards: 118
16 Of saint Basil the Great: on ablution at springs: 121
17 The revelation of Abba Makarios the Great concerning the gathering-in of souls: 126
18 The book which is called the Testament of Our Lord, the first book of Clement: 129
19 And following this the second and third books of Clement, which are very admirable: 135
20 The visit made by the solitary Zosimos to the blessed men who live on the interior side of the sea: 140
21 On the benefits which accrue to the dead and to the living from sacrifices (*i.e.* celebrations of the Eucharist): 147
22 Of Arsenios: on the fact that the righteous, even if they have died, are alive: 148
23 The story of ᶜVeḏ-mšīḥō ("the servant of Christ"), who had been a Jew, but was converted by the agency of children: 148
24 The story of a certain glorious virgin admirable for her way of life: 160
25 The story of Ksonfos (?), the senator, and his wife and children, which is beautiful: 163
26 On the manifestation of the saints who lived with Nasimos: 169
27 On that church in Nicaea which was rescued from the Arians by the agency of saint Basil: 174
28 On the brethren's guardedness at the time of the Mysteries: admonitions of Iwānīs (JCh): 175
29 Of John (not JCh): on the state which souls are in when they depart from the body: 178
30 Of Mōr Iwānīs (John) of Dara: on pure priesthood: 179
31 On belief in the Trinity, by the glorious Philoxenos: 189
32 The first letter of Clement, the disciple of Peter: 184
33 The story of Mōr Jacob the Teacher, of Baṭnōn da-Srūḡ: 190
34 Of saint Cyril: on the birth of our Lord in the flesh: 191
35 Of the same Cyril: on the Nativity of our Lord: 193
36 Of Mōr Severus: on the Ever Virgin Mother of God, Mary: 195

37 Of the holy Mōr Iwānīs (= JCh, here and until the end): on the beginning of the Holy Fast of Forty (days): 200
38 Of Mōr Jacob the Teacher, bishop of Baṭnōn da-Srūḡ: on the Fast of Forty (days): 205
39 Of Mōr Iwānīs: a *mimro* on our Lord's struggle with Satan: 210
40 A *mimro* of Mōr Iwānīs: on the paralytic and on malicious envy: 212
41 Of the same Mōr Iwānīs: a homily on those two blind men: 217
42 Of Mōr Jacob the Teacher of Baṭnōn da-Srūḡ: on exhortation: 220
43 Of Mōr Iwānīs: on praiseworthy humility: 222
44 Of Mōr Iwānīs: on the middle of the Holy Forty-Day Fast: 225
45 Of the same Mōr Iwānīs: on the ten virgins in the Gospel: 226
46 *Item*: on the king who made a feast for his son; a parable spoken by our Lord: 230
47 Of the same Mōr Iwānīs: on the inability of our evil deeds to defeat God's compassion: 235
48 Of the same Mōr Iwānīs: on David's statement that human beings are smoke: 239
49 Of the same Mōr Iwānīs: on glorious compassion: 244
50 A *mimro* of Mōr Basil on faith: 249
51 Of Mōr Iwānīs: on the Resurrection of our Lord and a homily: 252
52 Of Mōr Iwānīs: on the Ascension of our Lord to heaven after forty (days) [*sic*]: 254
53 On the nature of Holy Spirit, or the meaning of that name in the first book of Clement: 329
54 On the Apostles' questions to our Lord about the *eschaton* and the end of the world: 329
55 On the coming of the Adversary who is called the False Christ: 331
56 On the fact that the time and the judgement are near; and the words of warning spoken by our Lord: 332
57 On the duty of a priest to visit the invalids and the sick, especially those who are believers: 332
58 On the way a priest should live, without neglecting his prayers: 333
59 On the testimony to be given concerning a man who is to be ordained a deacon: 333
60 On the refusal of entry to those Christians who are late in coming to church: 334
61 On the situation of a woman who is forced by a man to become his wife: 334
62 On virginity; and on monks, that they should be neither drunkards nor gluttons: 334
63 Of your goodness, learned readers, pray for everyone who has had a part and a task in (making) this book

The index is closed with two prayers, and another prayer is divided over both sides of the folio down the left side:

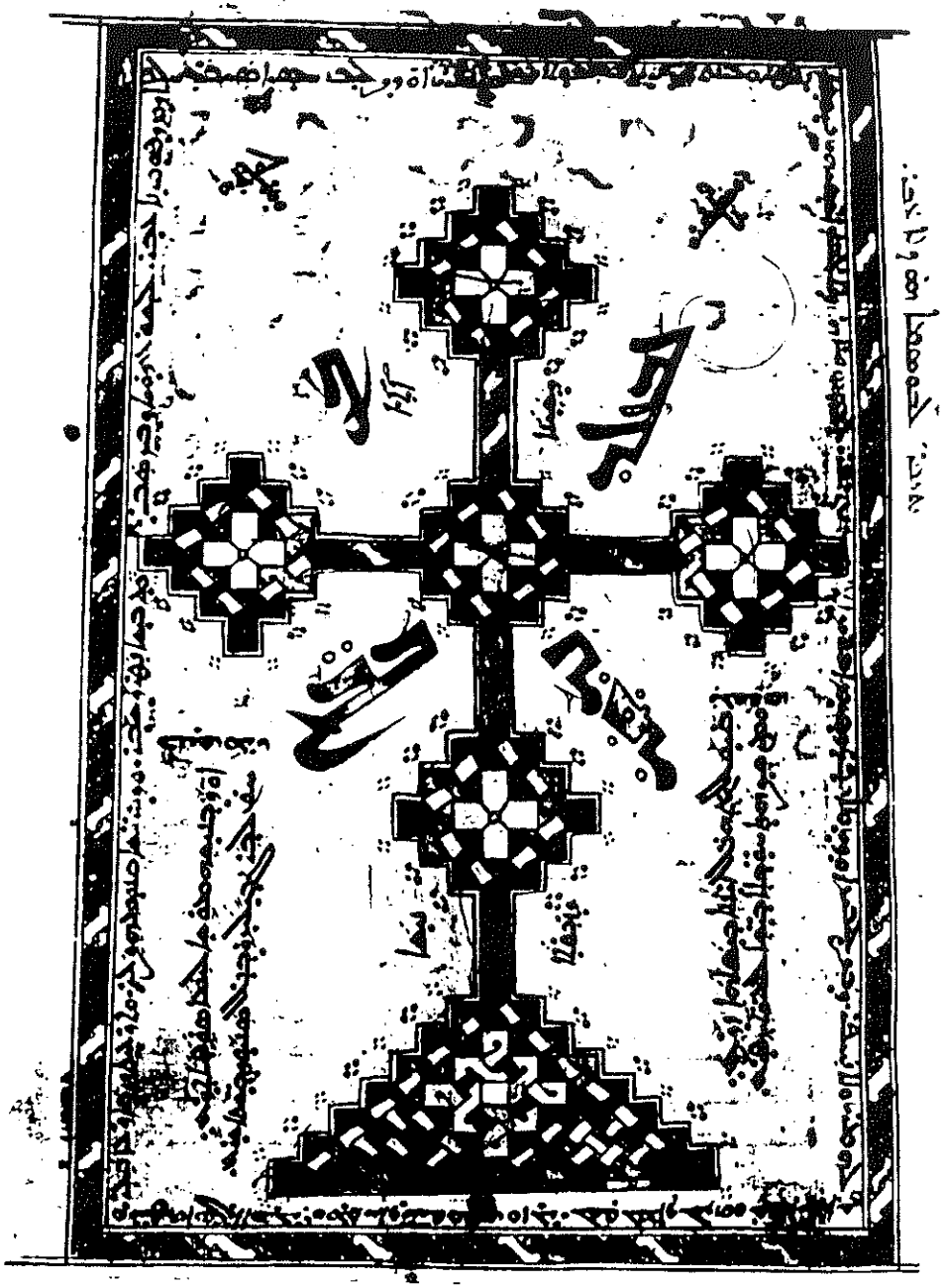
1 We have spread the news of your goodness, our Lord Jesus Christ
2 Our Lord by the prayer of your mother and your saints, forgive us our debts!

3 May the saints who endured all sufferings and pains for the love of you, / Lord of all, be intercessors with you for us sinners, Amen!

Frontispiece: Fol. 4a is adorned with a splendid cross (see fig. 2 opposite). The rectangular border uses five coloured strands in a twisted rope motif. (The same colours are used in the cross itself, in the frame of the index, and in the frame of the title on fol. 4b. They are faded considerably, confirming the impression of age given by the paper.) The cross is on a triangular base with seven steps on either side. Taking the side of one step as a unit of measurement, the base is 15 units broad at the bottom. The cross is 35 units high and 25 units broad. It is made up of six subsidiary crosses, which are left white, one in the centre of the base, measuring 5 x 5 square units, one in the centre of the cross, measuring 3 x 3 square units, and one each at head and foot and at either extremity of the arms, also measuring 3 x 3 square units. Just as the cross in the base is surrounded by a stepped triangle filled with colour in a woven motif, so the smaller crosses are surrounded by coloured weave forming "stepped" or indented, diamond-shaped clusters, each of which makes up, with its cross, a total of 24 square units. The clusters are linked with each other and with the base by extra lengths of shaft one unit thick and two units long. A line is drawn around the edge of the whole design. Opposite each outward angle of the indented parts is placed a little bunch of dots, four black, or two black and two red, forming tiny crosses.
This graphic design is complemented by the following texts:

1. "Through thee / we shall / push down / our / enemies" (Psalm 44:5), which crosses the centre of the cross on the diagonal from top left to bottom right then from top right to bottom left, with one section of the sentence in each quarter. The letters are drawn big and in outline, and each is coloured differently
2. "The sign of peace, the standard of victory", four words in Syriac, distributed to right and left of the upper, and to right and left of the middle section of the vertical shaft of the cross
3. "Look at him/it and hope in him/it", four words in Syriac, crossed on the diagonal in the top left and top right corners of the page
4. "In Mōr Ephrem", similarly crossed on the vertical at the top of the page, referring to the metre of (5)
5. A sixteen-line poem with seven syllables to the line rhyming in "-ar" on the theme of the cross, written in red ink
6. "In the metre of Mōr Jacob", upside down in red ink above the two halves of (7)
7. A four-line poem with twelve syllables to the line rhyming in "-raʿ" on the theme of the cross, written vertically in black ink with two lines on either side of the shaft of the cross

Fig. 2: CROSS ON FOL. 4a OF İSTANBUL, YENİ 196 (B)



N.B. Throughout this description, writing is understood to be in black, unless otherwise specified. The scribe uses black dots and (sometimes) vowels with red writing, but no Rukōḫō and Qušōyō. With black writing he also uses black dots and vowels, but he adds Rukōḫō and Qušōyō in red.

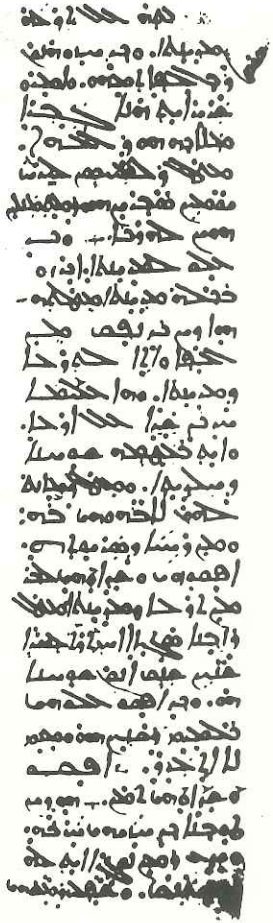
Title page (fol. 4b) The title: "A book of stories and *mimro* of the holy Fathers" is preceded by a long preamble, of which the first four lines and the last three are in red ink, with alternate pairs of black and red lines totalling the lines between. Around this preamble is a thick, three-sided frame woven in coloured weave around nine white crosses measuring 5 x 5 square units. The border is 7 units deep. The width of the frame is 25 units, the height 29 on the outside, which is reduced by seven steps on the diagonal to 23 on the inside. The whole design has a line drawn close around it, with a flower and cross motif on the diagonal at each outer corner. After the preamble and title half a line is filled with red and black dots. On the next line, the word "first", in black, is followed by the first heading, in red: "The letter which descended from heaven in the days of the victorious emperor Constantine; may his prayer be with us, Amen." Then the text begins in black. The writing in the title page is not split into two columns as in the rest of the MS.

Observations: The codex is in every respect, except for a few doodles and unnecessary notes in later hands, and except for the discoloration of the binding, in excellent condition. The pages stick to each other a little, but do not lose ink in the process of being opened. It probably escaped the ravages of the eighteenth century, which left Qartmīn Abbey deserted for 120 years, from 1714 to 1834 (Brock 1979, p. 169). Without knowing more about the history of the İstanbul library, I cannot do more than point to two facts of possible significance: the old number seven, recorded by Vööbus, which might suggest that B belonged to the "original" collection; and the absence of an indication, such as that in İstanbul 49/46, that the codex came from a private bequest. However, B probably had (like İstanbul 49/46, which came from the Upper Euphrates region, but was in a private collection at Amida before it was bequeathed to İstanbul) an intermediate resting-place between Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn and İstanbul. There is no clear proof that B was copied in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn; but the cluster of hagiographical narratives corresponding to the dedications of churches and monasteries in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn suggests as much. Cyriac (7) has a church at Arnas, Jacob (8) has a monastery at Ṣalaḥ, Bossus (9) has churches at Ḥēdel and Bēth Svīrīna and his associate Stephen may be the dedicatee of the churches at Fōfyaṯ/Kfarbē and Qartmīn village, the Holy Cross (10) has two monasteries, one near ᶜArbāy and one near Defnē, and Samuel (11: foll. 78a.1 - 90b.2), Simeon (12: foll. 90b.2 - 99a.2) and Gabriel (13: foll. 99a.3 - 113a.2), whose *Lives* are edited here, are the patron saints of Qartmīn Abbey. Alone of all the saints mentioned in the index, Samuel is explicitly asked for his prayers.

Another indication that the origin of B is to be sought in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn and perhaps at Qartmīn is that the *Qartmin Trilogy* is not included in any surviving collection of Saints' Lives known to be from outside Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn.

When was B written? Collation shows (see below) that it was not copied directly from Aa, which would in any case be unlikely, seeing how "modern" the Plain Script of ᶜVed-yēshuᶜ is and seeing that Aa probably left Qartmīn before the date from which such "modern" scripts appear (c.1550?). On the other hand, it seems unlikely that Sachau 221 would have been translated out of Arabic into Syriac if, in 1710, there had been a copy of the original Syriac text of the *Qartmin Trilogy* at Qartmīn. Besides, Qartmīn Abbey was deserted from 1714 to 1834. The apparent age of the paper and the faded colours, combined with the above considerations and my "hunch" that the script is influenced by the Gerger style, suggest a date between c.1550 and c.1700; while the good preservation of B and its absence from Qartmīn in 1710 suggest that it may have been copied under commission for an external beneficiary, *e.g.* a bishop in one of the cities surrounding Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, perhaps in Amida/Diyarbakır.

Fig. 3: THE SCRIPT OF İSTANBUL, YENİ 196 (B)



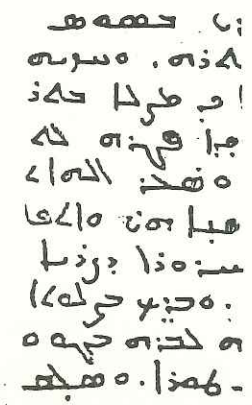
In safe-keeping with Graffin (Pognon 1907, p.39)

After corresponding with Professor Graffin, I visited Paris in 1981 and he showed me the notebook referred to by Pognon. It is bound in black and has thirty leaves measuring 17.5 cm in breadth and 22.2 cm in length. I omitted to note the contents of pp. 1-20, but I see from a photocopy of the last that this part ended with an extract from a MS dated AG 1964 = AD 1652/3, followed by an Arabic and a Syriac note from a MS numbered 74; the Syriac note is dated 1827 = AD 1515/16. On page 21 Pognon wrote "Extrait d'un manuscrit appartenant à Mgr Rahmani". There follows, on pp. 21 - 35, the *Story of Mor Bossus and his sister Susan*, then, on p. 36, the words "Extrait du même manuscrit", followed by the *Story of Gabriel*, on pp. 36-60. Page 61 (the inside back cover, if I am not mistaken) contains some helpful notes by Pognon. There was probably no date on the MS, or Pognon (to judge by p. 20) would have copied it.

Pognon's Syriac handwriting (see fig. 4 below) conforms in the main to the Plain Script, with the following peculiarities: BETH, final MIM and QOF are often square, as in Eṣtrangēlō; ZAY extends further below the line than is usual; final KOF consists of a diagonal descender, beginning above the line, followed by a curl to the left; LOMADH finishes on the horizontal at the end of a word, and when preceding final OLAF, keeps its *hasta* on the slant; SHIN is formed as a round black "blob" and is not preceded by a horizontal line in the initial position. Pognon clearly wrote with great fluency and his hand, though inelegant, is clear. He writes 27 lines to a page in black ink and numbers the pages at the top outside corner. Occasionally he puts "sic" between brackets to qualify a word.

The prelate who owned the MS from which Pognon copied became bishop of Baghdad in 1890 and moved to Aleppo in 1894; in 1898 he became the Syrian Catholic patriarch of Antioch with the name Ignatius Ephrem II Raḥmānī (Macuch 1976, pp. 429f). Henri Pognon was consul of France in Baghdad in 1893 (Pognon 1907, p. 113) and it was probably at that time that he made a copy of Raḥmānī's MS. Many of the books which belonged to Raḥmānī were later deposited at Šarfa in the Lebanon, but there is no clear reference to our MS in the catalogues of that collection (Armalet 1936; Sherwood 1957; Berkers 1962).

Fig. 4: SYRIAC SCRIPT OF HENRI POGNON IN THE NOTEBOOK OF 1893 (P)



The work of others

1847 - 11 Nov.: A MS of the *Qartmin Trilogy*, bought in Egypt by Auguste Pacho, is sold to the British Museum (Wright, 1870-1872, p. xv)

1872 - Wright (1870-72, pp. 1140-1) publishes his description of this MS, Add. 17,265 of the British Museum - later the British Library - (= **Aa**) as number DCCCCLXII under the heading "Collected Lives" in volume 3 of his *Catalogue*

1880 - Eduard Sachau purchases a volume containing, amongst other texts, a Syriac paraphrase of the *Qartmin Trilogy* at Midyat in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn

1881 - Socin (1881, pp. 251-3) describes a Garšūnī version of the *Qartmin Trilogy* which he has seen in 1870 among the books of Qartmīn Abbey; his description includes details and confusions from which can be seen (though he does not see it) that this version is not a translation of **Aa**

1885 - Sachau (1885, p.21) publishes a provisional description of the Midyat MS, Sachau 221, and of Sachau 242 and 239, commissioned by him in Qēleṭ, which contain Ṭūrōyō translations of the *Lives* of Samuel and Simeon and translations into Ṭūrōyō and Arabic of that of Gabriel

1893 - Henri Pognon makes a copy of the *Life of Gabriel* from a MS in Syrian Catholic clerical possession in Baghdad

1899 - Sachau (1899, pp. 581-7) publishes an extended description of Sachau 221 and a full summary of the contents

1905 - François Nau makes known the contents of **Aa** at the 14th International Congress of Orientalists in Algiers

1907 - Unaware of Nau's paper, Pognon (1907, pp. 39-40) publishes an extract from his copy of the *Life of Gabriel* which corresponds to LIX.19 - LXI.4 of the present edition, omitting LX.5-8 and LX.16 - LXI.2. In the same year Nau (1907) publishes a partial transcription of **Aa** comprising the following sections of the present edition: III.1 - VI.12; VIII.13 - X.6; XV.14 - XVII.13; XVIII.7-11; XX.16 - XXI.7; XXI.17 - XXIII.9; XXX.19 - XXXII.15; XXXIII.1 - XXXIV.18; XXXIX.12 - XLI.10; XLII.4 - XLVI.13; XLVII.1 - 8; LII.9 - LIII.6; LIII.14 - LIV.12; LV.1 -LVIII.2; LVIII.20 - LXIII.13; LXIV.18 - LXV.9; LXXIV.7 - LXXV.3; LXXV.9-14, LXXVIII.18 - XXXII.20; XC.1 - XCII.3. The omission of XLVI.13 - XLVII.1 occurs unintentionally, by a "saut du même au même". With the exception of this, he paraphrases the parts omitted. Where **Aa** has a lacuna, he supplies the sense of the missing passage from Sachau 221, unfortunately assuming it has the same text as **Aa**

1920 - Baumstark (1920, pp. 293-4) devotes a few lines to the *Qartmin Trilogy*, which he dates shortly after 797. Dating Nau's publication to 1906, he adopts that scholar's false identification of the texts of **Aa** and of Sachau 221

1933 - Mingana (1933, pp. 462-3) describes a Garšūnī version of the *Life of Gabriel*, presumably acquired in Mardīn in 1925 (see p. v). It is dated AG 1899 = AD 1587/8, at Bānabīl, near Mardīn

1937 - Krüger (1937, pp. 14-15) bases his account of the early history of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn mainly on Sachau 221, with reference to Sachau (1899) and, in second instance, to Nau (1907, given by Krüger as 1906). He, too, assumes the two versions are interchangeable. His references to the Garšūnī MSS Sachau 87 and 111 and the Ṭūrōyō [and Arabic] MS Sachau 244 show that he confused Simeon of Ḥabsenus, bishop of Ḥarrān, with Simeon of Qartmīn

1943 - Barṣawm (1943, pp. 146-8 - nos. 39, 10 and 14 - and p. 512 of the Arabic = pp. 197-8 and p. 639 of the Syriac translation) publishes brief references to the *Qartmin Trilogy* of which he says the Patriarchal Library has a MS

1959 - Behnām (1959, p. 159) gives an Arabic translation of the description of this MS in the Syriac catalogue [made by Bishop Philoxenos John Dōlabānī] at the Patriarchate; the Arabic reads, somewhat oddly: "MS 9/29: Three books in one volume, the first being a Book of Common Prayer (Syriac: šḥīmō), while the second [*sic*, feminine!] is of the stories of Mōr Samuel, Mōr Simeon and Mōr Gabriel. The books were combined in the sixteenth century. The MS measures 15 x 21 cm." In the same year Dōlabānī (1959, pp. 3-7, 12-19, 21-46, 48-83 and 85-120) publishes his own paraphrase of the *Qartmin Trilogy*, working apparently from the Mardīn MS 8.257, though he does not say so

1964 - Barṣawm (1964, pp. 12, 19-21, 28, 34-7, 47 and 85-6 of the Syriac = pp. 195-6, 202-4, 212, 219-21, 231-2 and 269 of the Arabic translation) uses the *Qartmin Trilogy* extensively in his history of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn. His paraphrases of XXI.8 - XXIV.12, LV.10 - LVII.14 and LXII.4 - LXIII.9 (on pp. 85-6 and 20-1) make no attempt to be literal; but his quotation of LVIII.19 - LXI.11 (on pp. 35-7) is close to the text of **Aa**. It is neither from Dōlabānī (1959) nor from Nau (1907), so it must be from Damascus MS 9/29

1977 - Vööbus (1977) publishes details of four MSS at Mardīn, one at Mossul and one at İstanbul; he is the first to realise that more than one recension of the *Trilogy* may exist

1985 - Briquel-Chatonnet (1985, p. 96) remarks that the text of B.N. 375 resembles Sachau 221 and differs notably from **Aa**.

The background: my work

1977 - Malfono Isa Gülten encourages me, his pupil in Syriac, to work on an English version of Dolabānī (1959); he also introduces me to the work of the patriarch I.E. Barṣawm

1978 - Gülten persuades Rabban Gabriel ᶜAllāf to let us examine the MSS used by Dolabānī in the library of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardīn; we establish the difference between these MSS and **Aa**, as published by Nau (1907). In Oxford, I read Vööbus (1977) and learn of the İstanbul MS

1979 - I begin to work under the supervision of Dr Sebastian Brock at Wolfson College, Oxford, on a doctoral thesis concerning the early history of Qartmīn Abbey

1980 - Chorepiscopus Samuel Akdemir and Mshamshono Ḥanna Seven enable me to photograph the relevant pages of İstanbul, Yeni 196, Vööbus's MS 7 (= **B**). Back in London, I establish that **B** is derived from **Aa**, while the Mardīn MSS belong to a tradition first attested by Sachau 221

1981 - In Paris, Prof. François Graffin puts Pognon's notebook (= **P**) at my disposal and I see that it is derived from **Aa**. This year, and again in 1984, I miss, through ignorance, my opportunity of seeing the patriarchal MS 9/29 in Damascus

1982 - I supplicate successfully for the degree of D. Phil. at Oxford with a thesis (Palmer, 1982) which includes a critical edition of the *Qartmin Trilogy*, with text written out by hand, based on the MSS **Aa**, **B** and **P**. I benefit from the criticisms of my examiners, especially from those of Dr J.F. Coakley on the method of edition

1983 - My hand-written edition, after revision (= version 2), is published with Syriac Prolegomena (Palmer, 1983)

1984 - In this and the following year I collate afresh all three MSS, using a revised method of edition, as far as I am able to work this into my handwritten text (= version 3)

1985 - The MS of *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier* is submitted to the Faculty of Oriental Studies at Cambridge

1986 - The Faculty decides to publish the edition (version 3) of the *Qartmin Trilogy* and the translation on microfiche

1989 - Bishop P. Y. Çetin enables me to make a better description of **B**. On my return from İstanbul, I find Damascus MS 9/29 in the book-catalogue of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate

B *is derived from* **Aa**

That **B** is derived from **A** is proved by the following. The text of **B** moves directly from the last word on fol. 69a of **A** to the first word on fol. 70b. Clearly a careless scribe simply turned fol. 70 with fol. 69, omitting to read foll. 69b and 70a. Since **Aa** formed a unity before **B** was written, **B** must have used both **A** and **a**.

B *is derived from* **Aa** *via* **X**

There are three proofs that **B** is not a copy made directly from **Aa** and that there must have been an intermediary copy, which may be called **X**:

Proof i
The first word after the omission described above, is further corrupted in **B** to restore some sort of sense to the corrupt text. If the scribe who was to blame for the omission immediately noticed that the words after the page-turn did not follow on the words before, he would have checked whether he had turned over an extra page by accident and so would have discovered his mistake.

Proof ii
In two places (XI.20 and XVIII.10) **B** has misteken the letter BETH for the letter KOF. In some Syriac hands the forms of these two letters are easily confused, but in the script of **A** BETH is unmistakably square. The corruption must have occurred when **B** copied from an intermediate MS in which the BETH was rounded.

Proof iii
At VIII.6-8 the text of **A** reads: *These men were so overawed by his serene presence and held him in such honour that they did not dare to ask him, "What is your name?" Instead they called him "Father" and individually "My Father (Syriac:* ᵓBY*)" - each would call him thus when he spoke with him. As for this abbey which has been mentioned, "Mor Abay (Syriac:* MRY ᵓBY*)" they call it to this day.*

B has a variant: *Instead they called him "Father". Certain individuals, "My Father (*ᵓBY*)" they call him to this day. As for this abbey which has been mentioned, "Mor Abay (*MRY ᵓBY*)" they call it to this day.*

Obviously a leap was made from the words *and singly,* ᵓBY to the words: ᵓBY *they call it/him to this day*, omitting the part in between; that was followed by an attempt to make good the omission by changing the word *individually* to *(certain) individuals* and by taking up the text again at the beginning of the sentence about the abbey. But there is no indication in **B** that *individuals* is a retrospective correction of the word *individually* in that MS.

It is much easier to imagine that the omission was committed by someone else (**X**); and that that person left *individually*, incongruous as it was in the new context,

unchanged. **X** did go so far as to take up the text again from *As for this abbey*; but he did not consider the omission important enough to justify disfiguring his copy with a marginal supplement.

P is a copy of another MS derived from **X**

About half the major variants of **B** are also present in **P**; yet **B** has some divergences from the text of **a** where **P** has the correct reading and *vice versa*. Therefore **B** and **P** must have a common ancestor (**X**) below **a**, which can be held responsible *in absentia* for the variants which they share, while they are individually responsible for the others.

Fig. 5: THE PRIEST EPHREM OF ARKAḤ (RIGHT) WITH HIS FELLOW-PRIEST, JOSEPH OF ARBAY

Lacunae in **Aa**

There are two categories of lacunae in **Aa**: 1. missing words of which no trace remains and 2. partially missing words which can either be reconstructed from the traces left (*e.g.* the bottom part of each letter) or else be seen to be compatible with the reading in a MS derived from **Aa** through a copy made before the word in question was damaged. For the first category of lacunae square brackets are used, the source of the restored reading being given in the *apparatus criticus*. Instead of ignoring the second I have chosen to indicate that inference is involved as well as observation, the words so restored are marked by a superscript capital L (for "lacuna") after each partially damaged word.

Orthography

My policy here has been to normalise the spelling of **Aa** and, in certain types of word, to adopt the spelling of **B** in preference to that of **Aa**. Silent OLAF, YUDH and LOMADH have been restored where they had been omitted and repositioned or deleted where they were out of place. Greek names and loan-words have been made to conform to copy-book transcription. Twin dots over a letter are used to mark an ordinal greater than one, a plural noun or adjective or else a verbal form with feminine plural declension; I have not always imposed consistency on **Aa** in this respect, though I have suppressed his practice of putting the dots on masculine plural verbal forms (where these might be read as feminine forms I have made a note in the *apparatus criticus*). In the case of these and other orthographical vagaries my rule of thumb has been to inform the reader only where genuine ambiguity is created. The *apparatus criticus* ignores other variants in spelling, including word-division (my practice is arbitrary, but consistent) and trivial scribal error, including marginal or interlinear supplements providing in the original scribe's hand a single letter or word which he has omitted.

Punctuation

I keep **Aa**'s punctuation in the main and **B**'s where **A** fails. I have added punctuation at the following places: III.5, XVII.1, XXV.18, XXVI.13, XXVIII.7, XXX.1, XXXIII.15, XXXIV.10, XXXVI.11, XLIV.5, 14, LVII.14, LXII.6, 15, LXIII.7, LXX.15, LXXV.12. I have deleted punctuation partially or completely at the following places: XXV.3 (twice), XXVI.6, XXXVII.15, XXXVIII.12, XLIX.16, LXII.15, LXVI. 19, LXXXIV.7.

Supplements and Emendations

Here I have tried to allow for idiosyncracies in the style of the original writer, without assuming that all grammatical errors would have been regarded by a contemporary as acceptable. It was necessary to use my judgment here, but the *apparatus criticus* usually indicates in abbreviated form comparisons *etc.* which support my arguments. One frequent emendation calls for special comment: If a verb has more than one subject I have restored a plural form where **Aa** has a verb in the singular. These scribes often omit the silent WAW of the plural, just as they sometimes add it where the subject is singular. I do not believe that *e.g.* QM ML^{2}K^{2} WMRY ŠM^{c}WN was acceptable grammar in any age and I have corrected it to QMW ML^{2}K^{2} WMRY ŠM^{c}WN. It is an easy error to make, especially during dictation; and it may be that Arabic grammar, which allows a singular verb before a plural subject, made Syriac scribes more negligent in this respect. If it were more than just a phonetic error, we should expect to find phonetically unambiguous suffixed forms to prove it.

Other supplements and emendations which need justification:

II.5: "etgāwas" always governs through BETH; "man" expects a following "dēn": Both these oddities suggest that something has fallen out and the similarity of "man" and "men" explains how the scribe's eye skipped a phrase one line in length.

X.4: What happened here is the following: Having written the two verbs in the masculine singular, the scribe encountered the subject, which he found so unfamiliar that he changed it to the more familiar feminine "^{c}avyūṯō".

XVIII.2: ^{2}SṬWRKYWS could not (*pace* Nau) represent "Eustorgius", because Greek GAMMA is not transcribed with Syriac KOF. A Eustochios is known from the correspondence of Severus of Antioch. Did **B** have access to independant authority concerning the title of Philoxenos' letter?

Abbreviations

All abbreviations are resolved and a symbol like a vertical section of a superscript capital H is used to indicate which part of the word in question was left unwritten.

B. SYRIAC TEXT WITH APPARATUS CRITICUS AND FACING TRANSLATION

N.B.

The reader is obliged to infer the origin of the reading adopted in the text by a process of elimination, *i.e.* the *apparatus criticus* is negative. In other words, if all the surviving witnesses to the passage concerned are cited in the note, the reading is an editorial emendation; in **I-LIV A** or **a** in the *apparatus* indicates that the reading of **B** has been adopted at that point; in **LV-XCII aP** in the *apparatus* indicates the same; where only **B** and **P** are witnesses, **B** in the *apparatus* indicates the adoption of a reading from **P**. There is one special case: Where the witnesses are **a**, **B**, and **P**, a variant marked **a** in the *apparatus* indicates that the reading of **B** is adopted and that **P** either has the same or else omits the word altogether. Where a lacuna in one of the MSS means that there is only one witness the reader is reminded of this in the *apparatus* by the label MS.(a), MS.(B) *etc.*

Apart from giving such variants as might affect the sense of individual words when taken in isolation, the *apparatus* gives the Greek and Arabic marginalia in **Aa**, cites the reading of **BP** on occasion for its own interest, and, very occasionally, elucidates the syntax (*e.g.* LXXV^{3}), where it might seem that the text was corrupt.

The following symbols and abbreviations are used in the *apparatus*:

2^{1}	refers the words between these two symbols
;	stands between variants and before the editor's comments
:	used as in English
|	line-break in the witness cited
"	(after first letter of Syriac word) abbreviation
A^{1}	A *manu prima*
A^{2}	A *manu recentiore*
add.	adds
ed.	the editor
e.g.	for example
om.	omits
sc.	understand a word not expressed
suppl.	supplied by

Text and translation face each other and have identical page- and (as nearly as possible) line-numbering. The reference XC.12-14, for instance, indicates the last lines of section 26 of the *Life of Gabriel*, which the reader can find in either language with equal facility. Supplements are marked by angular brackets, lacunae in **Aa** by square brackets.

The degree of literalism in translation varies according to the nature of the passage involved: where the passage requires a detailed commentary I have kept very close to the Syriac; but in legendary narratives and in passages adapted from other authors I have used more freedom. Sometimes a literal translation is provided in a note. A lower *apparatus*, with references by line-number which can equally well be used with the Syriac text, gives biblical passages cited or (with "*cf.*") alluded to.

Critical edition of the *Qartmin Trilogy*

B. SYRIAC TEXT WITH APPARATUS CRITICUS AND FACING TRANSLATION

THE STORY OF MOR SAMUEL, MOR SIMEON* AND MOR GABRIEL,

WHO (ARE ENTOMBED) IN THE SACERDOTAL ABBEY OF

QARTMIN.* THEIR PRAYER BE WITH US!*

FIRST:

CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MOR SAMUEL

VICTOR* IN VIRTUE AND CHOSEN SOLDIER.*

1) Moses, that man of God, when he was on the point of drawing near to see* the Burning Bush, heard a divine voice urging him* to take off the sandals from his feet, "Because", he was told,* "the place where you are standing is holy". I think he was being told* to set aside all earthly thoughts, and this is what was meant by 'sandals';* for the things of God may not be approached by earthly thought. How, then,* can I, a sinner full of wickedness, who am both fettered and fretted by thoughts* of earthly matters, - how can such an unclean mouth inform you of the triumphs of saintly* men of God, of whom this world is unworthy. Yet if* I leave their marvellous tale untold, I shall be blamed for it.

But if* the wondrous and astonishing tale of their lives should actually be rehearsed by my mouth, I fear* that I shall be accused and held guilty by them; (for) these men were holy in their actions,

---

9-10. Ex. 3:5
15. Hebr. 11:38

B78a1 A2b

B78a2

1 MSS. 2 A

pure and unpolluted in their labours, and clean and unsullied and innocent in their lives.* I am afraid even to come near to their triumphs, and I cringe from the Utterance* (which says): Keep away from the men in whom My Spirit has dwelt! They carried out* My commands. I have written their names in heaven above. Indeed, these men, though they lived in the world,* led unmaterial lives, high above matter.

Nevertheless, since it is right* and proper that the admirable and exalted contest of their endurance should not be left untold.* Let us write the records of their lives, (albeit) a meagre portion of their plenty, so that* those of the faithful who so wish may emulate them and find protection <in them* and receive help> from the treasure of their bones; (therefore) in the strength of their prayers let us make a beginning:*

How did all this come about? By the leading of which Spirit did they assemble* in <this> holy place? When did each of them severally come to be disciplined* under the yoke of the monastic life? How did it come to be called 'the Sacerdotal Abbey of Qartmin'?* Why is it named after three saintly men, although it has <many> wonder-working men (entombed) in it,* some of whose names are known, some a mystery,* twelve thousand saints (in all), as our spiritual Fathers and the righteous* men who lived before us testify? Yet it is called simply 'Mor Samuel, Mor Simeon* and Mor Gabriel'.

May their prayer and (the prayer) of those saints, their companions, be the protection* of the whole community of Orthodox believers, through those (other) three names, endowed with one power* and one authority: Father, Son and Holy Ghost! Amen!

3-4. *cf.* Ps.119:115; Ezek.36:27; Rev.21:27; Jn.14:15; Lk.5:8
5. *cf.* Jn.17:14f.; Rom.8:5
10. *cf.* Lk.4:1; Gal.5.18
12. *cf.* Mt.11:29-30.

B78b1 ... A3b ... 5 ... 10 ... A4a ... B78b2 ... 15 ...

1 A ... 2 A ... 3 B add. ... 4 A ... 5 *e.g.* <... ...> 6 *suppl.* B 7 *suppl.* ed.

2) Coming up to my purpose now, I shall make bold to tell you* that the stories of the saints of whose actions* I propose to give my feeble account were formerly most admirable. But you should know, dear friends,* how this Abbey came to be destroyed and burned - I relate (the following)* as I found it in the Ecclesiastical (History) of John of Asia:*

In the year eight hundred and eighty-seven, Khusro, the Persian king, came up* and laid siege to the city of Dara seventy-two years after it had been built by King Anastasius. When he took the city he tore down its walls and killed there eighty-* nine thousand men, who were Christians.* The Persian army went from there to the city of Apamea, which they took by siege,* and they made a great many captive in the territory of the Romans. The captives were assembled in Nisibis;* they numbered two hundred and ninety-two thousand men, women, and children.* From this number the king selected two thousand young virgins, outstanding for their beauty, to be sent as a gift to the barbarian kings* on his borders. Those young women held council immediately,* how they might avoid being stained by the filthy violence of barbarians. They committed themselves to Christ, Lord* of Spirits, and they did not lose the Faith of the Christians; and when the Persians were two days' march beyond Nisibis,* (the young women) came upon a river, in which, having made the sign* of the cross three times, they drowned themselves,* unobserved by any of their captors. Ever since then (that) river has been called

6f. *Chr.John Eph.585*, VI, 5-9 (adapted)

(2) A4b

1 add. A 2 A 3 A

Saryo (*i.e.* 'putrid'), up to the present day.

Having exacted from Antioch* and from (the rest of) Syria three *centenaria* of gold, the Persian king made peace for three years.* Then he marshalled his armies again and went up to Armenia against Theodosiopolis* and Caesarea in Cappadocia and other cities. At this, a Roman army*, one hundred and twenty thousand strong, went out from Constantinople,* in readiness to wage war with him. When he saw them, (the king) was shaken and trembled.* Fearing to go to Theodosiopolis he marched towards the Northern Mountains,* making for Cappadocia, (where he hoped) to get into Caesarea. When the Roman army heard (of this),* they marched against him to cut him off. (Meanwhile), he reached Sebastia and sent it up in flames,* but he found there neither booty nor captives, for all the provinces had fled* from his advance. Having burned Sebastia,* he found himself surrounded on all sides by the Roman army and so was compelled to flee swiftly to the mountains,* leaving all his camp behind. Thus he fled empty-handed and the Romans took possession* of (the) camp. Any that were found (there) they put to the sword;* unbounded riches were captured, including the king's own shrine of worship.

Now when the Persian heard* that (the) camp was taken and that most of the people (in it) had been put to the sword, and that nothing remained* of all the gold and silver, clothes, animals and money, he ordered* his army to surround him with a wall of shields and retreated on horseback* by this stratagem under cover of the night with his army, escaping into the region* of Melitene. Indeed, had it not been that the Romans were divided amongst themselves, they could have finished him off there and then,

A5b

1 B وم 2 A add. ٨٨٨ 3 A ٨٨٨ 4 suppl.ed.
5 A ٨٨٨٨٨ 6 ? MSS. ٨٨٨٨٨ 7 A ٨٨٨٨

with his army. (As it was,) Justinian Patrikios marshalled his forces into line* of battle, but the other Romans, so far from helping him, took to their heels. When the Persian saw* this, he regained his strength and entered Melitene, ordering it to be burned. At the time that this news reached* the Romans, they numbered about one hundred and ten thousand.

As for the king, in the same night that Melitene was burned,* he reached the river Euphrates. There the Roman army caught up with them from behind,* at which more than half of the army of the Persians stupidly plunged into the Euphrates and were drowned.* (The remnant,) however, (having crossed the river successfully) plundered and burned the region of Amida and of Mayperqat,* setting fire to every town and village in their path,* and so came down even to the Gap of Beth Bekoye, plundering as they went with terrible thoroughness, for they had brought nothing with them* over the Euphrates; and forthwith they pillaged the Plain of Ḥezu.

(Thus) they reached the region* of Ṭur ʿAbdin and the sacerdotal abbey about which I intend to tell you.* They found it rich in glorious possessions, great and beautiful works (of architecture)* and admirable and splendid literary compositions. Of books (indeed) there was a super-abundance* of every sort, Old Testaments, New Testaments, stories of the saints (who* are entombed) in (the Abbey), and so forth. (The Abbey) was adorned so generously (with possessions) that my poor speech is quite unequal* to the task of enumerating them singly in this narrative. Nor was there time to describe* the destruction caused in it by fire, which is reserved for for another occasion instead. For* the Persians burned this holy abbey on two occasions; on the second,* they burned all the books, including the stories of the saints and they destroyed fine and marvellous compositions.*

But our elders and forbears lost no time in taking pains to hand on

1 A ܒܝܬܐ 2 A ܒܫܝܠܐ 3 A ܒܐܡܘ
4 MSS. ܒܝܬ 5 suppl. B 6 ? A ܒܝܬ ܥܒܕܝܢ 7 MSS. ܐܝܠ

ڤ٥ا٥ا٥ا

but rather <he remained standing> like a column, except that he made prostrations. At last he finished* his prayer with these words: "You are God the all-merciful! As you made my parents glad by my birth* and they rejoiced in me and in their joy they named me John, because you had had mercy(a) on them,* in your compassion, make me worthy likewise to rejoice in an offspring of your giving, and I shall call him by whatever name* you please." After this he went home and had intercourse with his wife. She conceived* and gave birth to a son; and his father saw in the vision of a dream that 'the Name of God(b) shall be magnified through him',* so he called him Samuel.

4) When he was old enough, his father took him to learn about the Doctrine of Salvation. Now the first book* in which he was instructed was that of Samuel the Prophet.* Every Sunday he used to invite his friends and the teacher to the midday meal.* But he was never heard to laugh, and because his eyes were continually wetting* his cheeks with tears, his friends would ask him,* "What is this?" "It is the hotness of my head," he replied, "which has opened the spring of my tears."* But the (real) reason for the weeping of this blessed one was this: when he was* meditating on the Prophet Samuel, from where his mother Hannah prayed to God and Samuel was given* to the barren woman and she devoted him to Adonai, who did not disappoint his mother's vow,* he wanted to be like him. Three miles(c) away from the village* he built himself a monastery, and there he lived with eight brothers. There was born also to his father a son,* called Shomir, who laboured with him in building the monastery.

a) The name John (*Yuḥannon*) like *Ḥannah* (line 15), contains the root-letters of the vb. 'to pity' (*Ḥnn*). For the pun, *cf.* X.16 and n.2 below.
b) *Shmo* and *El* 'God' make the name *Shmu'el* (Samuel).
c) "*mansiones*"; but 'three days' journey' can hardly be meant here.

2. *cf.* I Sam.2:2; 7. *cf.* I Sam.1:20; 16. I Sam.1

5) Later, unnoticed by the brothers in his monastery or indeed by his parents, he left that place and went* to live on the summit of a steep mountain, which is called in Persian ᶜAmrin.* It overlooks Nisibis from a little east of North. (There he lived) all alone* for three years. But God did not allow him to remain concealed; He fired the hearts of many (others)* to come and live there together with him. These men were so overawed by his serene presence and held him in such honour* that they did not dare to ask him, 'What is your name?' Instead they called him 'Father';* and each of them when they conversed with him singly called him 'My Father'.* (For this reason) this abbey which has been mentioned (*sic*) is called 'Mor Abay' (*i.e.* 'my Lord Father') to this day.* Eventually it was revealed that his name was Samuel, but on account of the respect which his disciples had for him* they did not change the original name of the abbey.

After he had been in this abbey* seven years he had thirty brothers with him; and there came to that place the bishop* of the city of Sawro, and he ordained the blessed Mor Samuel priest. This was the reason* for this bishop's coming to this monastery.

So when the generals* of the Roman army were divided against one another and would not come to an agreement,* and the Persians saw that the land was empty of troops, the Persian *Marzban* (*i.e.* frontier-general), whose name* was Adarmahan, crossed over with a large force into Roman territory. Advancing as far as* the lands of Tell Beshmay and Tella and Rishᶜayno, they set fire to the whole* country as far as the Edessenes and the Ḥarranites, then returned to Nisibis-on-the-Borders.*

A detachment of the Persian force went up the mountain and burned down the monastery of the blessed Samuel* and the villages around it. They seized the bishop of Sawro and took him

13f. *cf. Chr.John Eph.585*, Bk.VI, Ch.6.

(5) ... B81a¹ ... A10a ... A10b ...

1 A ... 2 suppl. ed. 3 MSS. ... 4 A ... 5 A ... 6 A² ... 7 A ... 8 MSS. ...

to the Royal *Marzban* who was encamped at Nisibis.

When that wicked man had interrogated him at length* about his faith, without slackening that man of God's hold upon the truth of Christ,* he cut off the head of that bishop, whose name* was Karpos, the virtuous one. He was crowned on the third of December; may his commemoration* bring us a blessing and may his prayer be with us, Amen!

Then the blessed Mor Samuel went down* and took away the body of the bishop by means of a bribe which he gave to the nobles and chieftains* of the pagans, and he brought it to the monastery which he built on the mountain after the fire, and he buried it* with honour and ceremony, removing a part of the body for a blessing.

Now God put it* into his heart to go eastwards into the mountains as far as a man walks in one day,* to get away from the Persian border. But he did not tell his disciples of his plan,* lest the monastery should be abandoned altogether. He left them* on the understanding that he would soon return, and no-one followed him.*

6) So he came to a place called Coldness <of> Water (*i.e.* Qartmin; *cf.* XVII.5), which is north of Mount* Izala, and settled not far from a spring to the North of the village.* The fact that he did not move away from settled land (was) due to the water; for that region was ravaged* by the raids and fires of the Persians, who would come and raid and set fire to every part that was subject to the Romans.* Sometimes it was the Romans who pillaged and burned the lands of the Persians;* at other times Roman territory suffered.

Now Samuel* had brought with him to this place a part of the body of the martyred bishop,

2. *cf.* II Cor.11:10
3-4. *cf. Cal.TA*, Dec.3

1 A 2 A 3 suppl. B 4 MSS. 5 suppl. ed. (cf. X.12, XI.2-3, XIV.7-8)

and on this (relic) he built a church in his honour.
For there was in this village a certain wealthy and distinguished
dignitary* called Ṣlivo (*i.e.* 'Cross') who had a small son
called* Simeon. This boy was taken seriously ill when he was*
four years and seven months old. He had three brothers,* but the others
were not as dear to their father as this, his youngest. When the boy's
illness grew worse,* his father hastened to see the blessed Mor Samuel*
and, weeping, prostrated himself before his feet. He promised wealth with
which to build* and sustain a monastery, adding that he would also offer
gifts to the poor,* and alms to those short of food, and clothes and
blankets to such as were without covering.* Finally he made this promise:
"If he lives, he shall be your disciple all the days of his life!"
At this* Samuel boiled with the zeal of God, and, taking the piece
of the body of the martyred bishop, Mor Karpos,* the two of them went
to the place where the child Simeon was,* lying on a bed with his life
ebbing quickly from him.* About him thronged a crowd of people, men as
well as women, groaning and weeping.* On entering the house the two men
found the child cruelly racked with pain by (the) disease.* His eyes
were closed fast, and only the slightest breath came from his nostrils.*
His mouth, too, was shut, for it was congealed and stiffened* by a
swelling caused by the violent burning force which came up from his
intestines; with all of which* he was as good as dead.
His father could not stop weeping,* (either) on the way to the
Blessed One's cell or on the way (back). An only son is not mourned
by his parents with greater lamentation.

---

11. *cf.* Ps.69:9

1 A ... 2 A ... 3 MSS. ... 4 MSS. ...

The blessed Mor Samuel arose and went into an inner room,* ordering incense and a censer to be brought him. He placed that relic of the martyred* bishop on a bronze stand. On the relic was the Myron (*i.e.* Chrism)* which the bishop had brought from the city of Sawro. - For the early Fathers had a custom*: whenever a bishop or a priest or a deacon was ordained by the laying-on of hands,* they would pour the Chrism over their heads to anoint them,* in honour of the Holy Ghost who comes and overshadows them.* This (custom) was the tradition in the Church until the time of the patriarch Mor Severus.* - The Blessed One then set a censer full of incense burning and hung it on the reliquary* containing the relic of the saint. Then God's Chosen One knelt in prayer* before his Lord as a supplicant, especially (addressing himself) to the bishop, that he might be allied with him* in supplicating Christ concerning the health of the child. He wept profusely,* so that the earth where that saint stood in prayer became sodden with his tears.* (For) grief shook his heart on account of the sobs and wailing of the crowd* and their bitter groaning.

Then, after he had persevered for some time in prayer,* the sick child opened his eyes and fixed his gaze upon his father. His mother meanwhile,* distraught with bitter sorrow, was turning this way and that,* sobbing: "Simeon! Simeon! Where are you? Where shall I look for you?* (Are you) at the cell of the Blessed One, or in the church, or with your little playmates?" But Simeon raised* his hand and made a sign to his father to clean his mouth; for, he was unable to speak with him,

1 A لحتا 2 suppl. B 3 MSS. ـهلاهـ

his lips being stuck together. So, when his father had wiped his lips clean,* he opened his mouth and said to him: "Father!" His father replied: "Here, my heart,* my soul! Here I am!" The boy said to him: "Call our Master, the Blessed One, to me!* For he has suffered agonies on my account." Immediately his father ran into the inner room* where the holy Mor Samuel was. He found him prostrate* with his face to the ground, his mouth full of weeping and his eyes of tears;* and his mind was clothed with sorrow for the child. And (the father) said to him in a voice like a groan -* he was half-way between grief and joy, for while he was overjoyed that his son had been saved from death, it made him weep* (to see) that blessed old man, God's own chosen soldier, exhausted by the effort of his prostrations -* "Arise in the strength of your Lord! For behold, the child* is asking for you!"

The boy's father put oil in the three lamps on the stand* in front of the relic of the bishop's body, making at the same time a certain promise, which -* as we intend shortly to relate - that important man did indeed fulfil[(a)]*. (Meanwhile) the Blessed One got up from the ground, asked for water and washed his face;* and he banished sorrow from his heart, for he trusted in God that the sick (child) was healed.* But surely we should not call it sickness? It was rather from death that he had been rescued,* and out of the (very) shackles of Sheol he had come back to life, resurrected!

Then the two men arose and went* to the boy where he lay. But when the sick (child) saw the handsome old man,* he said to him: "Where is our Father Bishop, who was with you* a moment ago!" His father said to him: "My son, it is the weight of sickness

a) "A vow about the fulfilment of which by that dignitary it is reserved for us to tell and to relate after a little more"; but this is never done explicitly, although clearly XIV.5 is meant.

1 A ...ܐ 2 suppl. ed. 3 A ...ܐ

1. that makes you speak like this, for there is no bishop in our village."
2. Then (the boy) sat up and began* to tell (them) about a vision he had
seen, as one roused from sleep (who relates his dream).*

3. 7) And he said: "I seemed to see the Persian army invading our village
4. to plunder it. One of the King's soldiers came at me* and seized me.
5. He took me to their general, who, on seeing me,* drew his sword to kill
6. me. I was distraught with fear and so could not see (if) anyone* I
knew (was there). My execution was (already) a foregone conclusion,
7. when this Blessed One appeared and interceded* on my behalf with his
petition. He sobbed as he pleaded, but none of them did him harm; on
8. the contrary, they beheld him with great respect.* And behold: While
was yet pleading for me, there came an old man with a splendid white
9. beard,* wearing a royal robe (*i.e.* scarlet) and (holding) in his hand
10. a gorgeous staff, fixed* to the top of which, next to an apple of
emerald, was a cross that shone like the sun. In his other hand*
11.12. was a golden paten full of red blood, resembling choice nard;* and its
odour perfumed and pervaded the whole camp of (those) raiders. (This
13. man) began to plead* with the King on my behalf. The King said to him:
'Come and sit at my right hand!'. (The old man) replied:*
14. 'My Lord! This old man and myself have accepted the hospitality of the
15. father of the boy whom you wish* to kill. Give him to us rather, that we
16. may take him (back) to his father! For he is in great distress* and is
mourning his son.' The King said to him: 'Behold! Because of your love
17. towards me, I make you a gift* of this child. Go and take him to his father!'
18. "(So) they brought me (back) into this house;* and as for you, O my
father, you received them with gladness and joy."*
19. When all the people heard the vision related by the sick child,
they gave praise in a loud voice and the house was filled

11. Jn. 12:3
13. Ps. 110:1

1 A om. 2 A مفصل 3 A اجلى 4 A بصلبه
5 MS. (A) بصلبه 6 A مجه 7 A نصب 8 A مجب

with great rejoicing. Weeping and sorrow were replaced by exultation and serenity, instead of* tears and mourning, glory and thanks were sent up to the Glorious Trinity,* Father, Son and Holy Ghost, One True God, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen!

8) As for the boy's father, when he saw his son raised up, he gave generous gifts* to the poor. He also built a church in honour of the martyr. Every year* on his feast-day he distributed food and drink and fine incense and lamp-oil.* The villagers would fore-gather for the feast of the martyred bishop* and keep a vigil of prayer throughout that night. In the morning at the* end of the service, the blessed Mor Samuel would celebrate the Eucharist* and give communion to all the people. After this they (would) eat and drink at the table of the boy's father* until Evening Prayer; and when prayers were over they (would) all go* home, praising God.

When the boy Simeon was old enough, his parents* and his brothers took him to Mor Samuel, who proceeded to give him the tonsure and to clothe him with the habit* of a monk. He taught him the Psalms and the Office and how to read the Holy Scriptures.* By true doctrine of sterling worth this boy was instructed and enlightened and so he gained in strength* and courage (with which) to resist the attacks of the Calumniator. Moreover his mind was always alive* to the risk of laxity in his work and in his exertions.

Indeed, speech is not adequate to describe* his fasting and his prayers; the execution of his Office; his weeping and his suffering;* his protracted and ceaseless prostrations; the tears that would spring from his eyes

when he stood in prayer; his immeasurable gentleness; his humility, which surpassed* nature; his docile submissiveness; his asceticism, which exceeded measurement;* his self-control, his zeal in the fear of God; his obedience to* his master and how he kept to his teacher's directions; his sweetness towards* everyone; his compassion for the poor and the destitute and the starving;* his chastity and his purity; his spiritual way of life and all his deeds* and actions; his excellence and his goodness. These and all the contests which he fought for the Truth's sake are beyond my feeble ability to relate;* nor can my puny tongue encompass the powers and healings that took place between his hands,* for he became a help to the faithful when he emerged and became known.*

9) Abhorring as he did both company and conversation, (Simeon) asked God in his heart* that he might live in some other place. But he dared not confess to his master also this (desire), because of his modesty.* (For) he would not presume to act as an adviser, shrinking from vainglory*, [desiring only] to accept the advice of his master.

The fact was that the young girls of the village used* to make merry together, singing songs* and roundelays of festal mirth, with their sweet voices accompanied by an instrument of changing tones* and this went on all the time, by night and by day. These young girls' voices were a source of considerable disturbance to the Blessed Ones,* who were only about a bowshot removed from the village.* But, thanks to the operation of the Divinity, which at all times preserves

A19b

A20a

A20b

B84a'

1 A بجحلا 2 e.g. < ...خسم خلا ...>

those who fear Him, He did not slacken His Hand over His chosen ones[a].
Instead, He chose to to make them a firm foundation,* on which many
people might be assembled.

Now the holy Mor Samuel had* a vase-shaped container of basket-
work, wreathen with slender twigs of trees,* in which his disciple
Simeon would bring water from the spring.* His master had chosen to
subject him to this test.* As for the disciple, he did not inquire how
the basket might hold water,* hastening rather to obey immediately at a
run, whenever his master made a sign that he should fetch water.* Many
times he fetched water in that basket without its leaking out of it,*
and the Blessed One was amazed at his disciple, because the spirit of
presumption did not enter him,* nor did he even venture to ask his
master how the basket could hold the water.*

But one day, when Simeon went, as usual, to fetch water in the
basket,* on reaching the spring, there at the waterside, he found some
young girls washing clothes.* The boy did not talk with them, but Satan
troubled his thoughts and his mind was sullied,* if only a little. He
drew water in his basket and took it and went. But when he had gone*
a little way away from that spring, the water spilled out of the basket;
so he came to his master* ashamed and saddened.

"Get up, my son!" his master said, "Let us get away from this place
before* we are caught in Satan's traps!" "Yes, Father, may your will be
done and fulfilled!" said the disciple.*

It was the time of the Ninth Hour, so they arose together and recited
Nones,* and Vespers, Compline and Night Prayers (in succession) without
lying down on the ground.* When Night Prayers had been said, they
begged God to prepare them a place to dwell in.

a) This unparalleled construction is also potentially ambiguous: the subject may be Simeon, in which case we should translate "he did not let his hand go in his sides (*i.e.* his penis)". Thus Dolabani paraphrases: "the help of the Lord kept him without spot". In this context, the "firm foundation" (lines 1-2) would be Simeon's chaste resolve.

1.2. Having finished their prayers, they set off,* singing as they went
3. their way. Wherever they finished a tenth part of the* psalms,
they built (a cairn of) three stones to the honour and glory of
4. the Trinity,* as a token of a House of Prayer. They made one cairn
5. at the Third Hour, another at the Sixth* and another at the Ninth.
6. They journeyed from the village of Qartmin towards the East* and
a little north. At evening they prayed (again) and made another
7. House of Prayer.* These five (*sic*) Houses of Prayer which they
8. built or rather marked out* are still standing today. (Later)
9. in the evening they reached a certain* ruined place, (where they
10. stopped), for the Blessed One was unable to go further* on account
of his strict asceticism. For their aim was* to build an abbey in
11. which God might be praised at the place where they finished the
Praises of David.*

12. 10) That evening (again) they laid out three stones as a sign of
13. a (fifth?) House of Prayer; then they closed* their prayer and
rested after the tiring journey. When they had been lying(a)
14. (there) a short while, there came the angel* of the Lord, shining
like the sun. His appearance was that of Mor Simeon's aged master.*
15. But the boy was amazed in his heart, when he beheld his rich
16. clothing* and the lovely expression on his face. As Simeon stared in
17. astonishment at his master - for he thought it was he -,* the angel
18. summoned him gently to his side, as if he had good news* to tell
him;(b) and seizing his hand he raised him (to his feet) and softly
19. said to him: "Get up,* Simeon, my son!" Simeon's reaction was a
sensible one: "Master, what do you want?"

a) *cf.* XIX.13
b) "as if telling him news of light"

1 A حتم 2 A ابحه 3 substituted by A' for بحجم

The angel replied: "Come! Let us go on ahead and lay the foundations of an abbey!* First of all, as is fitting and right we shall build a House of Prayer."

Similar in meaning,* and equally astonishing, as we understand it, is the Utterance[a] of our Lord in the Gospel:* "Simeon, son of Jonah, you are a stone (*kēphā*), and on this stone I shall build my church; and the bars* of Sheol shall not prevail against it!" This Utterance may be compared to that addressed to the blessed Mor* Simeon by the angel, who said; "Come! Let us lay the foundations of an abbey! For thousands and tens of thousands* shall be assembled in it." And the angel swore to Mor Simeon that this abbey should not become an empty ruin until* the end of the world.

Moreover, we have found (a passage) concerning this holy abbey in the letter* which was sent by the blessed Philoxenos to Eustochios[b]: "To go there seven* times in faith is like going to Jerusalem, for it is built in the likeness and after the pattern of (that city),* and it is laid out according to the same design." But now let us continue with the matter of (our) story and leave* other matters aside!

(So) the angel and Mor Simeon arose and set off together. (First, the angel) showed him a certain (block of) stone,* (the one) which is (now) in the western door and told him: "Here shall be a door!"* A little way from it, to the North, he showed him another (block of) stone and told him: 'Here shall be another doorway!'* Immediately they walked a little further to the East and that angel lifted and moved a great (block of) stone,* hewn by a mason in ancient times; (then) he raised it from the ground* and suspended it at a height of a span or more and left it hanging (there). It is still (there) today, with nothing to support it.* The angel placed these three (blocks of stone as) markers.

(Then) he gave* the blessed Mor Simeon a measuring-line, and together they measured out* a wide expanse from East to West and from North to South.

a) (Corrupt) 'from the same meaning indeed and great amazement like this we understand the Utterance...'
b) The earlier of the two MSS has *'sturkyws*, which Nau reads as Eustorgios; but Greek GAMMA is transcribed universally with Syriac GOMAL *cf.* p.115, with n.13.

4-5. Mt.16:18
12-18. *cf.* Ezek.40-42; Rev.11:1-2; *L. Simeon Stylites*

1 A ... 2 A ... 3 A ... 4 A ...
5 A ... 6 A ... 7 A ... 8 A ...

1. Simeon was amazed, and marvelled at the breadth of this building.
2. Privately he was thinking:* "Two people have no need of so much space and
3. size".* But the angel, knowing his secret thoughts, said to him - and
4. it was as if his master spoke-:* "My son, have you not heard (that
   passage of the Bible concerning) the vision which (was shown) to the
5. prophet Zechariah? How it was said: 'Run and tell* that young man that
   Jerusalem shall be built like an agglomeration of villages.'[a] and:
6. 'The glory of* this latter house shall surpass the glory of the former'.
7. For it shall come to pass* that a multitude of people shall come to this
8. place and live with us". And this is* what actually happened; for in
9. the lifetime of these same Blessed Ones more than four hundred* men
   came to (this place), saintly people and performers of powers and
10. healings, of whom* this world is not worthy.
11. (Then) the angel and Mor Simeon went to (the place)* where the
    blessed Mor Samuel was. After that, while Mor Simeon slept, the angel
12. was raised up to heaven.* But (Simeon) did not realise that it had been
    an angel.*

13. 11) As for the aged Samuel, he had still not granted sleep to his eyes.
14. Instead* he praised God with psalms and hymns, and prayed as follows:
15. "Lord God,* you dwell in the heights, and the armies of heaven fear
16. you[b]; you govern by your nod the furthest* reaches of the inhabited earth;
17. in your ineffable compassion respond to your servants who call upon you* in
    faith, and answer our requests from the Treasure-House of your compassion.
18. (For) you are good,* Lord, and compassionate and caring. Shelter your
19. worshippers with your right hand, and let this place* be filled with peace
    everlasting! Deliver us from the attacks of Satan and from worldly thoughts

a) "villages, villages", *i.e.* many villages. But the author may be taking the word in the sense of 'field', thus giving the sense 'Jerusalem shall be built on a great area'.
b) 'him'; the 3rd person probably governs the following participles, too.

4-5. Zech.2:1-5; 5-6. Hag.2:9; 10. Hebr.11:38; 18. Ps.86:15

A26a

5

A26b

10

B85b²

11

A27a

15

1 suppl. B 2 A ⅊

and give us victory over the Evil One that we may confess you and worship you all* the days of our life, our Lord and our God, for ever and ever, Amen!'

When he had finished praying,* he went up to his disciple and awoke him from sleep and said to him: "Get up, my son!* Let us finish building! Let us gather stones and make ourselves a House of Prayer on the foundations* we marked out yesterday evening!" "(But), master!" exclaimed the disciple. "What, my son?" asked he.* His disciple said: "Have we not just spent the whole of this night marking out the foundations of a huge abbey?* We placed (those) three (blocks of) stone in three (different) places, as markers.* Moreover, it has taken us all this time since last evening (just) to measure out the vast (dimensions) of the foundations for the House of Prayer.* How is it that you are saying (now): 'Let us build another House of Prayer'?"

When the saintly old man heard (this),* he understood by the eye of the spirit what had happened, and (he realised) that his chaste disciple was not talking nonsense.* (So) he said in reply: "Yes, my son, it is just as you have said. But now,* get up and walk! Let us go to the place where we made our measurements, beginning in the evening!" So both of them arose and went* from East to West, (until) they found the marker, <a stone which> (was) suspended above* the ground; likewise they found the two (other) markers placed to North and to South of the centre.* When the old man saw these things, he rejoiced with great gladness. (So) they set to and began* with the building of the Abbey in the year seven hundred and eight of Alexander (A.D.396/7), son of* Philip first king of the Greeks when Arcadius Caesar held the chief place in the kingdom of Constantinople,* while Honorius (was) king of the Romans -* this being the date at which this holy abbey began to be built: In the days of Mor* Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, and Celestinus,

15. Mt.2:10
17. I Macc.1:1

A27b B86a1 A28a A28b B86a2 A29a

1 A ... 2 suppl. ed. 3 MSS. ... 4 A ...

patriarch of Rome.

When they began with the building, the first part to be built right at the beginning was on the west side,* near the two marker-stones placed by the angel and Mor Simeon.* They placed the first marker in the foundations of the west door.* On this stone they engraved a cross and an inscription, and everyone gets a blessing from it on entering and on leaving.* This door is open to the West. A little way from it to the North,* on the second marker, they placed another door, which looks South (*sic*)[a]. This is called* 'the Reservoir Door'.*

12) Men thronged to this place in their multitudes and in their regiments to become proven monks* and saintly men, able to work powers and marvels with great signs* and amazing feats, true disciples of holy masters.* In the lifetime of Mor Samuel and Mor Simeon there came and were assembled here from every land and every part* four hundred Blessed Ones, excellent and perfect in divinity,* of whose virtue my faltering tongue is too weak to tell of the triumphs,* nor (can I describe) the miracles that Christ performed through their hands. Who is there (indeed) that is equal to the task of relating their protracted fasting, their ceaseless prayers, their abstinence and their asceticism?* Nonetheless, I should be willing to say a little about the ways in which they showed their toughness, were it not for my wretched weariness or for that of the audience.* But of which of them should I tell you? And which should I leave out?*

Of CYRUS BAR ṢUPHNOYE, who cursed the lioness and it died; or of ABRAHAM BAR* ṢAWROYE, who cleansed the leper in the midst of a crowd for a way[b]?

a) The *non sequitur* probably reflects a scribal error; see p. 41.
b) Or: 'trick'; obscure.

18f. *cf.* Hebr.11:32-40.

A29b B86b' A30a A30b

1 A بهم 2 A لحا

Of ABAY, who spoke with an angel on Mount Sinai; or of SIMEON, who opened the eyes* of a blind man in front of Khusro, the terrible king, the son of Kawad?

Of JOHN, son of Gamaliel,* who healed the cripple from Nisibis; or of ABEL, who caused his column to bend down, while* he (was) on it and embraced Mor Akhsnoyo, when he came with the intention of obtaining his blessing?*

Of STEPHEN, who converted the pagans of the plain, or of MARON, who baptized two* thousand people in the city of Gozarto d-Shu^{c}o?

Of DANIEL, who walked on* the river Tigris when he went over to Beth Qardwoye (*i.e.* Corduene); or of CYRUS the Elder, who detected* a camel's fracture, and beseeched the Lord, and the camel was healed from its fracture?*

Of JOHN, who predicted the destruction and the burning; or of TUTHAEL the Stylite,* who gave life to a dead man?

Of ZUṬO, who, <when> a chamber fell down on top of eight brothers,* prayed for them and they were not harmed; or of DANIEL, the bishop, at whose* consecration a voice came from heaven, saying three times over: "It is meet and right!"?*

Of SIMEON, who adjured a baby on the day of his birth to say who was his father, and he disclosed it in front of* a crowd, and his mother was put to shame; or of that other SIMEON, who raised up a murdered man and exposed* his killer?

Of MATTHEW the Recluse, to whom the angel of the Lord made it known, that he should go* and comfort Iwannis Chrysostomos in his exile; or of JACOB the Seer* of Hidden Things, who went to Ephesus on account of the wicked Nestorius - the year being seven hundred and forty-four (A.D.432/3),* in the days of Theodosius the younger?

Of GEORGE* and SERGIUS, who claimed crowns of victory in the contest of martyrdom; or of* THOMAS and STEPHEN, who put water into skins for the price of lamp-oil,

1 *suppl. ed.*

and gave (the proceeds) to the poor; and by the will of God the water was changed into* olive-oil?

Of MICHAEL, who prayed for the barren woman and she gave birth to a son; or of* AḤUDHEMEH and ABRAHAM, who caused water to spring from the ground where it was needed, as a miraculous Sign?*

Of JOVINIAN, who cursed the harlot, so that she became deaf and dumb;* or of SIMEON the Greek and the fifty members of his blessed company, doers of good deeds (all)?*

Of ᶜAMMI, who was martyred in the town of Ṭanezin, or of LAZARUS, who rebuked the general* of the Persians and gained his crown by the sword?

Of JOHN of Kallinikos, who made cold* the fire which the pagans used to worship; or of SEVERUS the Short, who cursed the cultic tree* so that it withered away; and he built a church in its place?

{Of JOHN PSALTES,* who had a revelation in vision as he was dreaming concerning the relics of Ḥarbath Tutho(a); or* of the victorious ṬALYO (or 'lad'), who went down to the plain and requested fire, and it came down from heaven and burned down* a house of idols together with their priests in a certain hamlet; and when the inhabitants* of this village returned, they called it Beth Ṭalyo, (which name it has retained) until today?

Of ATHANASIUS* Sandloyo(b) who baptised all the Jews in his neighbourhood after the signs* and wonders which he performed; or of ᵛTHEODOSIUS, who was martyred in a lime-kiln?*

Of ELIJAH, who did not taste of anything cooked with fire; or of BARḤADHBSHABO, who healed* the eye of a child, which a wicked person had torn out by its roots, saying in ridicule:* "Let us see whether Christ will help you!"?

Of ṢUPHANYO, who loved quiet and absence* from the company and sight of women; or of ABRAHAM, who imposed upon himself silence and dumbness?*

Of AḤO (bishop) of Arzon, who was converted(c) by the Armenians; or of ṢLIVO, who by praying brought down

a) The pointing in B might imply the vocalization: ḤERBATH TWOTHO.
b) The name 'Sandloyo' is probably a later addition; see p.153.
c) Originally, perhaps: 'who converted'.

A32b

B87a²

2 leaves missing in A.

B87b

1 A ... 2 probably an interpolation 3 originally: ...?

rain and everyone gave glory to God?

Of JOSHUA, who stopped a disease of which young children were dying* in the city of Mayperqaṭ; or of MOSES, whom the brothers found singing with* the angels?

Of JOB, who was confronted by a savage lion, but he stopped its mouth,* and it never touched him; or of GABRIEL, at the hour of whose death angels came down from heaven and stood with the brother-monks,* forming a (funeral) escort?

Of JOSEPH, who put himself in iron* from his childhood; or of SIMEON, who went into a hollow cavity beneath the ground* and did not come out of it until his death?

Of JOHN, who was pleasing to his Lord; or* of TIMOTHY, whose mouth nothing but dry pulses entered?

Of ANANIAS, who healed* the girl that was possessed by a demon; or of ISAAC, from whom demons fled, screaming:* "What have we to do with you, O servant of the Nazarene?"?

Of GREGORY,* who cleft the serpent from its head to its tail by the word of his mouth; or of CONSTANTINE,* who converted] that rich man who had been wicked, and be became a proven monk?*

13) Let it be known to you, therefore, O sons and heirs of these divine men,* that each of these victors has his own story, (in which are narrated) his ways and his doings.* These stories, handed down (from generation to generation), are read amongst those of the faithful who desire* fervently to meditate upon the contests in which (the saints) fought* and laboured for the sake of the truth.

Our brothers and spiritual Fathers! You have a duty,* as heirs of these saints, knowing what sort of men were your Fathers,* and what chaste clothing you have adopted and what sacerdotal place it is you have come to dwell in,

11. *cf.* Rev.1:16 13-14. *cf.* Hebr.11:33 15-16. *cf.* Hebr.11:36
16-17. *cf.* Hebr.11:38

1 suppl. B 2 suppl. ed.

- (indeed), we all owe it to them and it is our duty, by (imitating) those virtuous lives, zealously to follow* in our masters' footsteps, and so to let it be known that we are truly the sons of those holy Fathers of ours, from* the exact and indistinguishable likeness (between us and them); so that, by means of the divine pattern exemplified by those men,* we may preserve without counterfeit the heritage that they entrusted to us, and hand it on to posterity without blame or stain, demonstrating that,* when allowance is made for the times and for our strength, we have not in any way defiled the clean and pure life* of those men, nor have we filthied or stained (their) holy foundations with the tread of our faltering soles.*

In fact, those who came for instruction (as monks) after these saintly* monks of the earliest days used not to walk down the middle of the corridors of the abbey,* but uncomfortably along the walls and the partitions and the buildings, shrinking from the act of walking* on the ground that those righteous men had trodden; for they said: "We are not worthy* to walk on the earth that their holy feet have touched." For* they went barefoot from place to place and from (their) cells to the temple; throughout* the summer-season and the winter, in the heat and in the freezing cold, they wore no shoes.*

As for us, if we do otherwise, we shall hear in this place that terrible threat, which says:

"I have abandoned* my house; I have abandoned my inheritance; I have betrayed and given over my beloved into the hand of her enemies,* <for> them to torture as they will." And again:

"They have contaminated my holy [temple]* and have made Jerusalem a ruin. I shall expose them utterly as a scandal* to their neighbours, a laughing-stock to all those that hate them; I shall scatter their offspring among the Gentiles."* And: "In them shall the prophecy be fulfilled: 'Leave her foundations, for they are of God!* Do not destroy (her) utterly! I shall keep her roots for ever, lest my covenant with those that fear me should perish.'"

15. Jer.12:7 16-17. (link: 'heritage') Ps.79:1 17-18. Ps.79:4; Ps.44:13
18. Ps.44:11; Neh.1:8 19-20. *cf.* Is.33:20, Ps.125:1

1 A ... 2 A ... 3 A ... 4 A ... 5 A ... 6 supplied ed. 7 A ... 8 A ... 9 A adds ll on a separate line 10 B omits the text on A69b and A70a

1. And then he will say:
2. "I do not know you. You are* children [who insult] their
fathers, [corrupt] children of a depraved and perverted generation.*
3. He has removed the truth from his mouth and in his lips are lies.
But 'their heart is very far from me'."*
4. To avoid this fate, let us then keep far from dark ways; and let
5. each one* of us, as he should, offer gifts for the adornment of this
6. sacerdotal abbey, (such as) continual prayer;* wakeful and discerning
7. vigils; obedience to the commandments; wakefulness of mind* and of soul;
8. hymns pleasing to God; care about good behaviour; pure ministry;* purity
9. of heart; unalloyed love; charity which is not feigned; truthfulness*
10. free of all deceit; fortitude of conscience; together with compassion for
the poor* and the needy; solicitude for orphans and widows and visiting of
11. the sick* and those in trouble. When our [souls are filled] with these and
12. their like, then* we, [too], shall hear our [Saviour] say on the last day -
13. (this applies to) all* of those who are continually near him - : "Here I
14. am, with the Sons you gave me, Lord!"* But especially to ourselves
shall be addressed gladdening Utterances. (For example,) we shall
15. hear the Utterance(a)* that Christ addresses soul which is pure: "How
16. lovely you are, my sister and my bride! Behold,* you are lovely! You
are lovely all over, my cousin, nor is there any blemish in you."
17. And we shall all* say to him at once: "The king has brought me into his
18. bedchamber." This will be accomplished* through the same Christ, our
Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen!*

19. 14) And so let us return to [our story], from where they built [the
Reservoir Door].

a) A marginal note adds: "which is written"

1. Mt.25:12 1-2; Mic.7:6 (or Ezek.5:10?).
2. Deut.32:5, 20 (*cf.* Phil.2:15); Mt.12:39; Is.1:4.
3. Jer.7:28 (the link suggested by the last words of Deut.32:20); Mt.15:8 = Is.29:13; Ezek.33:31.
15. Cant.1:15; 4:1,7.
17. Cant. 1:4.

lacking in B

5 A70a

text resumed on B88a2

A70b

15

(14) B88b1

1 consistent with traces 2 cf. Isaiah 1:4; Deuteronomy 32:5 3 B ...
4 A adds in margin ... 5 = B; cf. XXI.7

1. And outside [this door the monks dug again and they made this deep
2. cistern[a],* which is formed and clawed in the limestone[b] bedrock.
(It consists of) three vaults, the size of which is:*
3. Length: forty cubits
Breadth: thirty-six (cubits)
4. Height: twenty-* five (cubits)
There is a gutter or channel (which leads) into this, by which the rain-
5. water comes* off the stony land outside the Abbey. This (cistern)
6. satisfies the thirst and other needs of the whole abbey* and of everyone
who enters it, though not of the livestock.
7. On the inward side of it Mor* Samuel and Mor Simeon and the
rest of the brothers set to and built cells with a wall surrounding
8. themselves.* They called it 'Beth Shuroye'[c]; and in it they built
9. the Temple of Mor* Samuel.*

10. 15) News of this abbey flew all the way to those faithful kings
11. of the Romans,* Honorius and Arcadius, sons of the triumphant
12. Theodosius the Elder;* their mother was the sister of Maximus and
13. (of) Domatius, sons of the righteous King* Valentius (*sic*), they
that became proven monks, and the faithful kings* Honorius and
14. Arcadius sent gifts with much gold in the hands* of Rumelios,
15. the chief eunuch <of the king>. When they reached this place
16. they set down* in it limitless wealth. And he (Rumelios) built
17. a great vault to the South of the Temple* of Mor Samuel; and they
18. dug two great, deep pits, one to the North and one to the East* of
the Temple (of Mor Samuel); furthermore. they built a great dome
19. to the South of the Temple* and of the great vault.

These four works were executed in this abbey by those victorious kings.

a) The word here used is different from that used at XXVII.19 and at XXI.7; the former word is *qevyo*, the latter is a loan-word, from the Latin: *piscina*.
b) Observation *in situ* provides the correct understanding of this word.
c) *i.e.* 'House of the Men of the Wall'; see pp. 44f.

2 leaves missing in A

1 MS. (B) ... 2 MS. (B) ... 3 MS. (B) ... 4 suppl. ed.

(Furthermore) they sent presents every year to (show) their respect for this place.* The saints and their companions used (the money) to buy clothing for the brothers and oil* for the lamps and candles and the rest. They also sent all the vestments for the sanctuary, which were of great* value.*

16) As for the saint (*sc.* Samuel), he was glad in his soul and rejoiced in these great buildings. For* this ruin had formerly been a house of idols; and the saint had found* there] the bases[(a)] on which the inane statues had been placed.* He had found the inscriptions still intact. When the saint effaced them,* the demons raised up warring attacks against him; but they were unable to fight him, because* he was an old man. Neither (the temptation of) vainglory, nor greed,* nor the lust of fornication could cause him to transgress. When the Rebel saw that he was not to be defeated by these, [he resolved]* to exhaust him by the [lengthy] journey to Constantinople. (So) [a demon] went* and dwelt in Theodora, the daughter of King Arcadius; and the girl began* to cry out: 'Samuel! Samuel! Let him come and heal me!' When the king* heard this, he sent for the Blessed One. But when the messengers reached* the saint, he was sorely vexed because of the length of the journey. So the monks arose* with the chief of that godly band and knelt in prayer for three days and three* nights, [without] pausing even for a moment or having anything [to eat]. Then, on the fourth night,* the saint [saw] a Man of Fire, with a scroll in his hand on which was written:

a) Translation *ad sensum*; we expect *eshtotho* where we have *sheryone*. *sheryone*, the more usual meanings of which are 'joints' and 'breastplates', is used of bedrock in *L. Barṣaumo*, fol.75a.2: *sheryone d-shu'e*.

1 *suppl. ed.* 2 *MS.* (B) ... 3 *substituted by A¹ for* ... 4 *suppl. ed.* 5 A ... 6 *possibly,* ... *is intended: cf.* XXXVIII¹

"Write your name in person and (the names) <of> your four hundred companions, and say: 'I,* Samuel, Abbot of the Shuroye[a], say to you, O hater of our race, that it is forbidden you* to dwell in this girl or to harm any part of her!'" (So) the Blessed One arose* and wrote as he had been told; and he gave the letter to the messengers* who had come (from the king). As for the envoys, they took the letter in faith, [and went] (back)* to their country (to report) to the king.

But when the king saw that the saint had not come with the messengers,* he boiled with (such) furious rage, (that) he scratched his face with his hands,* and by the Will of God his right eye was torn out.* Then being ashamed (to be seen thus), he went into an inner room and put a bandage over it. He sat down and wept and moaned:* Not only was his daughter in the possession of a devil, which was ignominious (enough),* but he now had a second affliction, for his lacerated eye had disfigured him shamefully. (Wearied at last) by the sobs of [grief* which had gripped] him, he dozed and fell into a deep [slumber].

In his dream it seemed as if he had fallen* into a pit, in which was darkness without a (single) ray of light. In terrible anguish* he looked up and saw an old man (standing) at the head of the pit. He had a beautiful* white beard and held in his hand a gorgeous staff, at the top of which was fixed a cross* that shone like the sun. Seeing the old man, the king wept and wailed:* "[I] implore you in God's Name, help me!" The [oath] was hardly spoken,* when he came up out of that pit and (found himself) standing beside (the old man). He prostrated himself and kissed* his feet, weeping, and said: "By your life, my lord: Who are you, blessed old man?"* To which he replied: "I am Samuel, to whom you sent (word) about

a) *cf.* XXVII.8.

1 *suppl. ed.* 2 *mss.* ⲗⲱⲁⲛ : *cf.* XXVII.8 3 *mss.* ⲗⲱⲟ : *cf.* XX¹

the sickness of your daughter." When the king heard this he cried out: "Blessed am I* to have touched your holiness!"

He was still speaking these words in his sleep, when he awoke; and behold,* his son came in with the letter which the holy man had sent! The king took* the letter, kissed it [and pressed it] to his eyes. In that instant, his eye was made whole* and became like the other one. Overjoyed, he got up and,* without opening the letter, took it in to his daughter. He found her crying out -* but it was the demon that spoke with her mouth -: "What have I to do with you, Samuel? Go chew your own white beard![a]" But when (the king) opened* the letter and read it (out loud), the demon came out of the girl, in the shape of a dark-skinned Indian[b] man,* screaming with a loud voice: "You repel me[c], rebellious old man! Your cowl stinks![d]* It is your [humi]lity that has defeated me." (At which) everyone gave glory to God.

But the demon,* on the same day as he left the girl, went with his companions and entered* a pack of wolves. At that time, the saint was breaking (the bread of) the Eucharist to give communion* to the brothers. The wolves, rabid and blood-thirsty, got in at the brothers as they were assembled* at the time of the Offering. But the Blessed One, that true shepherd, signalled to his blessed flock:* "Have no fear! For this is the work of Satan." (Then) he made the sign* of the Cross over the demons and said: "It is forbidden you from henceforth to maul* any living [soul] within the confines of this monastery, whether of man or of beast, for ever!"* And they were scattered without delay.*

17) One year later the victorious king Arcadius died. It was after

a) Actually an adjectival phrase: "eater-of-his-white-[hairs]".
b) Or: 'Ethiopian' etc.
c) "Ugh! from you".
d) "putrid-with-respect-to-the-hood".

7. Mk.1:24
10-12. *cf.* Mt.8:32

(17) ...

A436a ... B89b²

A436b ... B90a¹

A437a ...

1 A adds ... *on a separate line*

1. this that a cruel pestilence broke out in the village of Nyohto[(a)]. When
2. it had reached the point that many courts[(b)] and houses stood empty*
3. without their owners, the leading men and notables (of the village) met
4. together and came (to see the holy man).* They presented themselves in
5. great number at the cell of the Mor Samuel* and entreated him with tears
6. and groans of grief (to do something) about the pestilence. Without delay
7. [that] Soldier* of God arose and went with them, taking the blessed Mor*
8. Simeon and five other brothers with him. When they reached the village,
9. they went into the Great Church* and held a service of prayer. (Then)
10. they came to the north (side) of the church and built (there) a House
11. of Prayer, as* was their custom. They (then) began to weep and to
12. petition God with groans, ewes and* shepherd together, on behalf of
13. (those suffering from) the harsh pestilence. (From that moment) the
14. people were spared from it, for such was God's command.*
15. (Thus it was that) all the inhabitants of this village came together
16. to make* that House of Prayer into a large and beautiful monastery beside
17. the Great Church,* which [they called] 'the Monastery of Mor Samuel',
18. because the pestilence had been brought to an end by his prayers.*

19. 18) (The Abbey received a) further (benefaction) in the days of the
20. victorious king, Theodosius* the Younger, who is worthy of a good
21. remembrance. In the first year of his reign and enthronement in the
22. Great Palace* of the Kingdom, he sent his servants with gold. When they
23. came to this abbey they built* a round House of Eternity, that is, a House
24. of Saints, and a church of the Mother of God.* Beside the church to the
25. North (they built) a double House of Martyrs and two vaults* constructed of
26. [hewn] stones; and they erected in it fifteen 'beds'.[(c)]* Outside it (they
27. built) another house which is called House of the Apostles. Above these (two)

a) A marginal note adds: "This village is Ḥaḥ".
b) Big houses built around yards and often inhabited by several units of an extended family, as in Ṭur ʿAbdin today.
c) *i.e.* benches on which to lay or seat the corpses.

1 A ميتا 2 A حتتم 3 A حة

handsome edifices they built a temple (dedicated) to the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia.* Inside these buildings they executed marvellous paintings, adorned and decorated* with various colours of every shade, such as white, red, black,* purple, amber; together with everything (else) that the Serene King had commanded.*

19) It was at this time that the blessed Mor Samuel died, handing over the headship of the brothers* to Mor Simeon, the second abbot, son of the elderly Slivo of Qartmin.* The day on which Mor Samuel of Eshtin received his crown was that of the full moon[a] of the month of May,* a Tuesday. Priests and deacons, old men and young, assembled,* all the inhabitants of the area, men and women together, for the burial of the blessed father.* For seven days and seven nights they held a vigil of prayer, weeping and mourning* over the departure of this Spiritual Athlete, [whose ship] had reached harbour and who had claimed* a crown of victory from the Hand of Justice[b]. By his prayers may we all find mercy* together; and to that same God, Christ, who gave him the victory in his contest and crowned him,* be glory and honour and thanks for ever and ever, Amen!*

END OF THE STORY OF MOR SAMUEL

a) *i.e.* 15th
b) *i.e.* God

7. *cf. Cal.TA*, May 15

19 A39a

A39b

B90b¹

B90b²

1 A

N.B. The note at the bottom was added by the editor.

Further: THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF MOR SIMEON*

1) After the death of the triumphant Mor Samuel, Mor Simeon, with reduplicated (fervour), augmented his* (efforts in) fasting and prayer. There began to cluster around him the sick,* the invalids and [the disabled], together with paralytics and the possessed, for he would cure* and heal them all through the hidden power of God(a) which went with him.

From year to year he would celebrate* a feast in memory of his master in joyful and perpetual remembrance of him.* On the day of his commemoration he would distribute freely great quantities of alms* to the poor, the orphans and the widows.

2) A certain man of high standing in that same region had a daughter of extraordinary beauty.* A certain boy sought this girl's hand in marriage, but her father withheld his consent.* [The wretched (boy)] had recourse to the incantations of some practitioner of magic, whom he promised* to remunerate with gold. But when (the wizard) cast a spell upon the girl, a demon entered her and she debased herself* of her own accord(b) and gave way to stark lunacy.

Her father, greatly distressed* on her account, took her to Blessed Mor Simeon. When the girl caught sight* of the saint she (began) to scream and scratch her face. At this the Blessed One sealed her* with the sign of the Cross and prayed over her. In that same instant modesty got the better of *her lewdness(c) and she came back to her senses as if she had never been insane;(d) and her father took her* off to his house rejoicing.

a) This expression is common in the *Lives* of Syriac saints from the *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Wright, p.301) on.
b) "became of little weight from her freedom"; this might mean that she abandoned the respectable chastity of a freeborn woman for cheap depravity.
c) "she covered herself from her worthlessness".
d) "as if she had never seen illness".

9f. *cf.* Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, ch.XXI.

1. 3) Then there was the boy who went in search of the nestlings of
2. doves and stupidly climbed* onto roofs and walls. He accidentally
   fell down and landed on his head, breaking his vertebra;*
3. (after this) he could not speak. His parents transported him to
4.5. Blessed Mor* Simeon, racked with pain and close to death.* But
   the saint laid his hand upon him in the Name of the Lord and he
6. was healed. Everyone* who heard (of it) glorified God.

7. 4) A certain man stole a sum of money [and went and hid] it. When
8. morning dawned* the rightful owners went to the thief, but he maintained
9. with many an oath that he had no knowledge* of the matter.
10. "Swear to us by the Contest of Mor Simeon,"* they challenged him,
    "that you did not take what was ours, and go free!" But hardly
11. had he opened his mouth to swear the oath,* than his face was
    turned backwards[a] in full sight of all. Immediately he returned
12. the whole sum of the stolen money* to its owners. Then his people
13. took him to the holy Mor Simeon.* All night the Blessed One stood
14. (in prayer), all night he interceded for that man;* and when his
    prayer came to an end, the face [of that thief] returned to its
15. (natural) position.* Then Mor Simeon warned him: "Never commit such
16. thefts again and do not* swear oaths falsely, lest something worse
17. than this should happen to you!"* The man stayed for a little,
    then went home. But (afterwards) he came (back) to this abbey*
18. and became a perfect monk and a worker of miracles for men.

---

a) A common (if obscure) form of nemesis in stories of this kind.

(3) ... B91a²

(4) A44b ... A42a ... B91b¹

1 A ... 2 mss. ... cf. XXXIV. 11

1. 5) One of the brothers went one day to a village in the vicinity
2. of the monastery to* the South on the business of the (monastic)
community and went into the house of the man [to whom] he was sent.*
3.4. This man had an [only] daughter, who was a virgin* as yet and beautiful
5. to behold, a girl of fifteen years.* Now the brother was thirty-two
years old.
6. The Christians whose house the monk went into* had prepared
a meal for him. He was unwilling to spend the night with them, but
7. they* swore by the Contest of Mor Simeon that he should stay, and
8. he,* fearing the oath, went (back) into the house. After the two
9. (men) had eaten,* wine was brought to him and they drank and made
merry.*
10. "Master!" said that Christian to the monk, "give us a sample
of the spiritual chanting you do in church!" Emboldened by the wine
11.12. the brother* [burst] into powerful song. He had a fine* voice for
13. singing and a handsome figure; his face was attractive* and his
speech was sweet.
14. Satan made the girl's heart yearn* for the monk; she arose
15. with haste, put on some gorgeous apparel* that she had, and so
came to sit down beside the monk.
16. "Father!" she said to him,* "I want to be blessed by your
17. prayers". Now the brother thought to himself,* "She is doing
this out of faith".
18. After a while they all went to bed.* But the girl, once her
19. parents were lying in a profound slumber,* came and lay down beside
the brother.
20. "Get away from here!" he ordered her, "before* your parents
discover and bring shame upon us".

(5) ابالاحم سه مح انتا. لحنسا انبا وحمنحماه وومنا مح
خوهلا وهن وماحكسلاهه. احجا لنسمحنا حمحا. ماسنا
[لحاه] ولاه وحكاه انبا. [سبسم]ا. انا حه حنا لاه لاه
A42b .حمحكسلاهه حنا هنتم سمحكسلاهه. ولاه حبحا لاه انسمحا. حمحكسلاهه

5 ولا وحنا لحنسمحاه حه محجه. مخاوام لاهتم انا مح حنا لاه 5
حمحا. حمحبحم. لاحجا وحنا لاه انبا لاه. لاهجمحا حمحاه
حه. لاحجا وحفا. حمحكسم. حمحنا وحمحا حمحكسلاهه مح
حمحه ولا مح. حمحا حه. لاحكسلاه لاهجمحا مح حمحا وحمحه
حه انا. حمحمحاه لاهجمحا حه حنحا ولاهجمحا. انا حه 10
10 لاه حمحه: لاحجا وحسا حنا انا مح لاه: حنا. لاحجمحا حه
A43a .لاه انسمحا: حمحاه حه [حمحا]ا حنحا. لاحه مح
B91b² .حمحنا حمحه: حمحمحا لاه لاحجه. حمحكسا وحمحا
حمحا لاهجمحا وحمحا لاهه حمحا. حمحمحا لاه لاحا
لاحجا حاحا. لاحجا حمحكسا حه. لاحجا. حمحا لاه 15
15 لحا. حه انا حه. حاحا وحمحا. حمحا انا حه لاحا
حمحاه. حمحا لاه حمحا مح لاه: لاحا حنا حمحاحم
حمحا. حمحا حه حاحا. حمحا لاه انسمحا حمحا
A43b .حمحا حمحا حمحا حمحا. حمحا مح لاه: حمحا
(no room) لاحا. انا حه لاه حمحه لاه حه انا حمحا لاحا 20
20 لا لاحا حه انا. لاحا حه مح حمحا حمحا حمحا

1 A حمحا; B لاه حمحا 2 A لاه | حه (no room for HE at the end of the line)

"Don't be afraid!" said she. "It is they who sent me to you."
The brother said to her; "I have a master,* Mor Simeon, who has
knowledge of secret things. If I should sin with you,* he would
expel me from the monastery. As for you, your parents and your
family would kill you."* The girl said to him, "You, do to me as
I will! And if Mor Simeon* does expel you, (why then) come and be
my husband(a) and I shall be your wife!"*

Now that brother had with him a sack (which he had left)
outside the room where he was lying.* "Go outside!" he told her,
"and bring me the Gospel-Book from the sack, and swear to me that*
you will reveal this secret to no one! Then I shall do to you as
you will."

But as soon as the girl went out* to fetch the Gospel, he
bolted the door between [himself] and her.*

The girl had a neighbour who* yearned for even a glimpse of her
face, but she had never vouchsafed it to him.* Now, under the sway
of her wakened [desire], she went that same night and spoiled her
body in fornication with him. Then she came and called to her
parents,* saying, "Get up and see this monk who has spoiled (me) and
taken my maidenhead!* I did not notice (in time) to give you the
alarm. Look! He is in the inner room* and I have bolted the door
in his face so that he cannot escape."

They arose all three* and took a lighted lamp: but that holy
brother they found* radiant as an angel. Reverence for the dignity
of his habit [prevented them] from rebuking him* in anger;
instead, they kept calm and said to him, "Stand up, monk, and take our
daughter!* Go wherever you will, but let us never see your faces
again! Let the shame* of your deed be sufficient punishment!"

There and then in the depth of night the pair of them went out

a) "take me among women".

17. Acts 6:15

1 A هجه

with tears being shed on both sides. Mor Simeon knew what had happened (even) before they came into the monastery* and went out in that same night to meet them. He came upon them* outside the gate of the abbey, and (that brother) took hold of the hem of his garment.

Then (the saint) wiped away that brother's [tears]* and said to him, "Welcome to the victor who wrestled and who won! Him did that desire not defeat,* which has beaten (even) the bravest."

But the brother wept and said, "Forgive me,* Father! For I have been the cause of injury to the handmaiden of Christ."

The girl then spoke to the saint,* "I entreat you, Servant of the Lord, do not destroy me, sinner that I am, that I should go* to Hell in my sins! Rather, accept my repentance, and I shall confess my sins* before your Lord!"

The saint put the girl in the brother's cell(a) and there she dwelt* until the birth of her son. When she had given birth to the child, she took it to a certain hamlet* to be brought up [there]; she provided as much as they required for his keep.*

All she had eaten in the days before she gave birth were soaked pulses, compounded into loaves(b).* After the birth she dug herself a cave in the ground and went into it,* refusing all food except grass and wild herbs.* The only face she would see was that of Mor Simeon.* There was no door into the cave, but there was a little window, and at this window* she would take (her) food and, from time to time, the Body and Blood of Christ.*

But it was God's [will] that the hidden treasure be revealed.

This same girl,* when she was in her parents' home, had possessed a gorgeous cloth. (After her disgrace and departure) her mother* would fondle this cloth in her hands as she wept in sorrow for her daughter.

a) The brother must have left it, for he later claims not to have seen her since this night (see below, XXXIX.3-4).
b) "soaked loaves of the seeds of vegetables".

18. Mt 13:44

1 A ...

So long did she weep that the light of her eyes was taken from her. As for the father, he became a cripple. So they asked* (a neighbour, who was none other than) that young man who had deflowered the girl, to take them to Mor Simeon,* that they might be healed.

Now this young man had certain enemies, who went out* after him. When (the young man and the old couple) had nearly reached the monastery, (those enemies) laid hold of the young man and killed him.* News of the murder came to the brethren in the abbey who went and fetched them,* the blind old woman and the cripple and the dead man. The monks supplicated Mor* Simeon, entreating him to heal them, and (they asked permission) to bury the dead man.*

(Then) it was revealed to the saint that the truth about the girl should come to light. He summoned her* with the living Word of God to come out of the cave, and she emerged in public, clothed* as a monk. The saint made a sign to her about healing her father and mother and she* in her humility did not oppose the Word of his summons; rather, she spoke as follows,* addressing her prayer to God:

"O Lord! Good Physician! By the prayers and the Contest of Mor* Simeon may these people be healed!" They were both healed (forthwith). She prayed (again),* and the dead man came to life.

Once restored to life the (man who had been) dead confessed his offence, saying,* "These people who have (just) been healed had a daughter, a virgin, whom I deflowered. Her parents put* the blame on a certain solitary who was sleeping in their house, although he had no part* in the violation. I never saw that girl again."

The saint then said* to the young woman's parents, "What is it that this man is saying?" They replied,* "As to his role in the affair, we knew nothing of it. But the case of our daughter was such-and-such."* - and they told the whole story in front of the brethren.

The Blessed One said to them, "This ('monk'), who healed you

9. Hebr. 4:12

and raised up the dead man, is your daughter."

Now her parents knew her by a mark* which she had on her right side, and by this mark they recognized her.

Then that brother came* and swore: "I have not seen your daughter's face since the night on which I lodged* with you, until this moment." Indeed, none of the brethren realised what* had happened until now.

Three days later that blessed girl died;* and for three days and three nights they offered prayers for her.* The people of her village heard and came to be present (at her funeral), about two thousand (of them) men* and women. They begged the holy Mor Simeon for the body of the blessed woman;* and he gave them permission to take it in honour and with ceremony to their village.*

As for the dead man who came back to life, he received instruction (in the abbey) and became an excellent monk.*

6) There came to the saint a man possessed by a demon, but when he had prayed over him, he was healed* and recovered his sanity.

Another man, a distinguished gentleman from the mountains* north of Mayperqat[a], came to him that he might by his prayers give him sons;* his request was granted and he sent many gifts to the abbey and to the brethren.

Again there came* to Mor Simeon a woman of Awsar, whom an evil spirit was causing to waste away.* Whenever (this spirit) came upon her she would become as one dead. But the saint* looked her in the eye and shook his head and said to her, "Woman, do not* sin again!". She said to him, "My Lord, I beg you, do not make my shame public! For* you know me and my wicked crimes." The Blessed One then pronounced a blessing over some water and gave it

a) "from the mountain on the interior side of Mayperqat".

18. Jn 8:11

to her to drink. Thereafter the spirit came upon her no more and she went her way [in] joy* and happiness, never to sin again.*

7) Now a feverish epidemic broke out amongst the inhabitants of the region surrounding the abbey,* so fatal that they were unable to bury all the victims of it. They putrefied (in the open)* for lack of a gravedigger. Great numbers of people got together and presented themselves to (the saint). They petitioned* him concerning the epidemic and compelled him to go with them. So he arose and took* with him ten brethren: Cyrus, Abraham, John, Stephen,* Maron, Abay, Zuto, [Daniel], George and ᶜAmmi.*

(These) brethren went around all the villages singing psalms and praises to God.* The time that had passed since the plague began in the region was from 14th September* until 20th October. Men of low and of high station died,* five thousand in number.

But from the day on which the saint* and his companions went out from the abbey into the country not one more human being died of* the disease, as (in) other regions, until the following October(a).*

After the space of a month the saints returned to their monastery. Everyone praised them* and called them blessed: and all men gave glory to God.*

8) The saintly Mor Simeon's intimate disciples said of him,* that after the death of Mor Samuel he did not lie down

a) "the return of the year".

A50a

(7) A50b

(8) A51a

1 A اما

on the ground. Instead, he would take what little rest he had on his knees[a] or when he was eating with the brothers.* Whenever sleep (threatened to) overcome him, he [would] suspend himself* on a rope[a], until his sleepiness left him; then he would free* himself from the rope.

One day there surfaced in his thoughts* the desire to see (again) that angel who had taken him off to lift and to place* the foundation-stones of the abbey. In the middle of the night a fair and pleasing light shone upon him.* The Blessed One arose and worshipped it. The angel (for it was he) said to him, "Get up!* Let us sing praises." The angel lifted up his voice and thus began to sing:* "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost" and so on. At his voice all the brothers awoke* [and came to the door of the cell. They saw it* aflame with fire and filled with a light brighter than that of the sun;* and they found the angel and the Blessed One singing and praising. When the brothers saw (this),* they fell face downwards onto the ground; they all thought to themselves,* "Now we shall all be burned up with our monastery by this conflagration which has established itself in it."*

The angel stayed with the Blessed One until they had finished the Praises of David[c];* then he was taken up into heaven, his ascent being visible (to all). As for the saint,* after this he occupied himself with perpetual labours and ate only once in every seven days.*

9) Word went out in (all) lands -
both the kings of the Persians and the kings

a) "when he placed the knee"; *cf.* N.T. Greek *tithenai ta gounata*.
b) *cf.* LVII.16-17.
c) *i.e.* the last group of Psalms.

(9) ...

1 leaf missing in A

B94a

A51b

of the Romans (heard of it) - that angels came to pay their respects to Mor Simeon and to pray <with him,>* as was testified by the witness of five hundred and sixty brothers, (all) proven monks* and performers of powers and healings, the true disciples of (that) chaste and diligent Shepherd.*

So the Persians restrained their mischief and did not even1 come as far as the villages* around the abbey. For they persisted in raiding and sacking the Roman borderlands. Up to one mile* from this abbey they would come with their burning and sacking. For this region* of Ṭur ʿAbdin was subject to the Romans, but the Persians stood in awe* of the Blessed One and were afraid to come near his cell,* because they had heard of his awesomeness and of his triumphs.* For (this reason,) the Romans used to send many gifts to this holy place* and would supply the needs of all the brothers year by year,* so fervent was their faith.

10) In the year seven hundred and twenty-three of the Greeks (A.D.411/2), in which Rabbula took his seat* on the episcopal throne of Edessa, he collected* gold from the Edessenes, and came to the blessed Mor Simeon and was blessed* by him. But the saint would not take any of the gold. He said* to him, "O Father Bishop, it is enough for us that you have given yourself the trouble of coming* to see our sinful person. May Christ not cheat you of the reward for your labour and may that

14f. *cf. Chr.Qartmin 819*, A.G.723 (= *Chr.Edessa 540*, A.G.723).

1 suppl. ed. 2 A

which you have brought to be recorded in the Book of Life before God."

(The bishop) stayed with him for six* months, then he went to Edessa. With the gold that he brought back with him he built the church of Mor* Stephen the Martyr, which had formerly been a Jewish Synagogue.*

11) A certain heretical individual came to the abbey to (find) Mor Simeon.* He was an exceedingly cunning practitioner of satanic arts, but* people believed, when he wove his spells,* that his feats were deeds in truth. So great was his reliance* on the demons that he stood neither in dread nor in awe of any man.

Now the saint was in the habit* of wandering alone in the mountains and in the high places outside (the abbey),* and of sitting under sturdy trees and on crags and on hill-top ledges.* Sometimes (one) of the brothers <would> go with him; but there were* (other) times when (he would go) alone and return to his cell after three or four days,* without being noticed by anyone.

(So) when this proud man came, puffed up with self-importance,* boasting and vaunting himself in his haughty way and making his voice boom as loud as thunder,* (so that) the brothers were seized with a shivering fear of him, he asked* the brothers about the triumphant Mor Simeon and they told him, "He is not just* here (at the moment). What do you want him for?"

This bitter torrent of abuse was his reply:* "Have you not heard the Scripture: Not everyone who cries 'Lord, Lord!' will enter

1. *cf.* Phil. 4:3; Rev. 21:27 19f. Mt 7:21

A53a

(11) B946² A53b A54a

1 suppl. B

the Kingdom of Heaven; and again: There are some who wear
the clothing* of lambs, but inside they are made (as) ravening wolves?
Or have you not read:* You are like whitewashed
sepulchres, beautiful outside,* but full of dead men's bones and filth
within? Why have you put on the vainglory* of
others to your own disgrace and shame? Against you* is fulfilled the
word of the prophet, who said 'I shall condemn them for eternity; I shall
demand vengeance for their crime* and give them over to the vultures'".
With these and many more (such) words* he rebuked the battalion
of Christ's troops. Then that mischief-making trickster in his
presumption* claimed, "Behold! God has sent me to rebuke you,
because* you have corrupted his ways and his covenants and his laws
and his judgements;* you have not kept his commandments, nor have you
walked in his paths. You are frauds* and liars and there is no truth
in you. Hypocrites! Dissemblers! You devour* the households of
kings and of commoners, of rich men and of paupers, by the scheming*
of your deceitful master, Simeon, that prompter of falsity, that
agitator and evil man. Behold! I have come* to make him the object
of insults and of (contemptuous) head-tossing among the nations.
He shall not hide himself from me!* For it is written:
(Though) covered with shame they feel no shame(a).
It will do him no good to hide or whatever.* Behold! I have
converted the whole country. Let him come now and meet us! Let us
prove by examination who has the truth* with him!"
Then this accursed man sent written notice* by his messengers
to all the inhabitants of that region to come to the abbey* and see
the truth. About three thousand people came,

a) My translation understands a distinction between the *objective* shame of the deed and the *subjective* feeling, which is not in the original Hebrew.

2. Mt 7:15 3-4. Mt 23:27 6-7. *cf.* Is.18:6 15. *cf.* Ps. 44:14
16. Jer. 6:15, 8:12

1 A وقبي?? 2 A مكسم 3 A حوق 4 A ابيا
5 A احمد ابا

and still the saint himself did not join the throng. When (this) great crowd was assembled,* they told the brothers to go and fetch their master, Mor Simeon, so that he might confute* the accursed man before he should unbalance the people's judgement. But the crowds that had gathered at this summons* had lost none of their faith in the saint and his blessed company;* rather, they looked on them in rapture as <on> angels. But as for that object of execration* (they looked upon him) <as if> they considered him to be a son of perdition and a father of error, an envious agitator, full of evil.

The brothers said to themselves, "This* is the work of the Devil. God will strike him down, with Satan his master,* who dwells in him, by that hell-fire which awaits him (hereafter)!"

(Meanwhile) the saint's disciples ran* to him and told him all that had happened. They informed him* that the designs of the accursed man had brought a great number of people to the abbey. But the saint* in his humility simply said, "May God's Will be done!"; and he arose without delay* to come to the abbey. The whole crowd that was in the monastery went out* with the brothers to meet the saint with Gospel-Book, censers and candles, singing* praises and antiphons to tuneful chants. Not a single man stayed by that accursed one:* everyone went out to meet him, protesting against the wretched (heretic).

When the wizard saw that the abbey was empty of both crowd and brothers, he had recourse to his magic tricks* and demonic hordes flocked to him in their regiments,* a vast number, appearing in visible form; a great and innumerable army,* who raised their voices in a fearsome, bloodcurdling scream. The multitude, hearing the deafening din

12. *cf.* Mt 6:10

1 A ... 2 B ... 3 suppl. ed. 4 suppl. ed.

of their shouting, trembled with violent terror and said one to another,* "Where did this great horde come from?".

But while they were as yet tranquil and subdued, the wizard sent* a messenger to (the saint) to say, "Let your mob and mine be quiet now* and let the din of their shouting cease, that we may test who has the truth with him!"*

But when the saint went in with the crowd to the abbey, God brought chastisement upon the execrable wizard* and his mouth and his hearing were blocked. Furthermore, nothing was to be seen of his army* of demons (that had been) around him, nor (was) their voice (to be heard).

Then the Blessed One signed himself with the Cross* and lifted his eyes to heaven and said, "Listen! All you people of this land: for fire is about to come down* from the seat of the true God. It shall not approach any that is firm in the Faith of Christ;* but as for (this) deceiver, who is (so) full of blasphemies, the fire shall burn him up in front of all your eyes".* And as he spoke the words: 'Fire shall burn him up', a thunderbolt of flame came down from the sky* upon the accursed one, who in that instant was turned to ashes.

The fire did not die out in the dust* of his body, although there was nothing left for it to burn. For three days it clung to the loathsome remains(a).* Its miraculous preservation was designed to strengthen faith in Christ.* Moreover, that fire on the remains(a) of the accursed one gave off a putrid odour* that was exceedingly distasteful. When the assembled crowds saw this miracle,* they entreated Mor Simeon to give them the command to take away a share of* the fire which had burned up the accursed man; and he gave his consent to this. So they all arose and took* some with them back to their homes.

As they received the saint's blessing* and left the abbey, carrying their share of the fire, the (remaining) fire was drawn up

a) "body"

from the crumbling remains of the wizard and formed a sort of column between heaven and earth,* at which the masses fell to the ground in fear. Then it leapt up quickly* into the sky towards Him that had sent it.

But the fire which the masses had taken was not drawn up* (nor taken away) from them, nor did it go out; each man brought it home with him to his village.* As soon as the people reached their families, they put out the old fire* and made a new one for their use with the fire that had come down in the thunderbolt.*

Everyone who saw or heard of this gave praise to God, Who magnifies those who worship Him, to Whom be glory* and honour and worship unto the ages!

12) My beloved, if all the deeds and actions and powers* and healings and miracles and fearsome acts of heroism performed by God through the agency* of the triumphant Mor Simeon - surpassing, as they do, and outstripping both mind and ear* and worthy, as they are, of great admiration and wonder - were to be written down...(supply: "I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written")

Who can tell <of>* his great labours and his amazing contests; or of his bowing down and his weeping;* or of his persistent fasting and his never-ending prayers; of his endurance and* steadfastness; or of the hunger and the thirst, the cold and heat that he endured;* of the temptations and assaults (which he suffered) from the demons; and how the Spirit of Offence never entered him,* nor did vainglory or mankind's admiration have a place in his heart;* nor did he indulge in loud and foolish laughter, but rather, when he was happy, he would make* the occasional cheerful pleasantry; nor did his mouth harbour execration against any man;

12. Jn 21:25; the *aposiopesis*, if not merely careless writing, shows how present this verse was in the minds of the writer and his audience.

1 suppl. B 2 A 3 A 4 suppl. ed.

(indeed), he used no oaths of whatever kind, saying instead, "You may take my word for it* that the true situation is such and such"; nor did he cause a single one of the brothers to stumble in any way.*

Whenever he heard of a fault or a defect small or great with which any one of them was accidentally* afflicted, he would go to him and comfort him, saying, "Get up, my son!* Come, let us pray together to God on account of this thing you have done wrong! For I, too, have been guilty of it."* And this he would do without letting anyone else know. He would go about and visit* each one of the brothers in turn, leaving* no gate open in his sheep-pen for the Evil One, (that) ravening wolf, to come in and savage* the lambs of Christ's flock. Like a hero he kept watch with diligence, sustaining his vigil* by night and by day and leading (his monks) in the straight way, smoothing out* firm paths in front of them and teaching them laws, commandments,* observances, judgements, purposes, statutes and prohibitions.*

13) When he had perfected and accomplished them in all that was sound and needful,* he summoned all the monks and said to them, "I am going to my Lord, for behold, he summons me!* Do you be strong!" When the innocent ones heard that their master was going to die,* they assembled all together and mourned with tears his parting* from their midst. They came to receive his blessing. As they (came) to stand in front of him* each took up position in his own class[a] according to the priority of his status in an orderly arrangement that would command the highest admiration.* First to enter was the college of distinguished

a) "groups, groups and rows, rows"

7-9. *cf.* Jn, ch.10

1 A اجنسيّ

elders, lovely in appearance and ancient of days, the priests, pure and undefiled; below* these were (those) godly and perfect men, the ministers[a] of righteousness, guileless* and noble; and below these were the chaste, accomplished and trusty brothers, worthy* of the pursuit and practice of excellence.

The blessed Mor Simeon's soul rejoiced as he looked upon them* and he glorified God. Then he opened his mouth to bless them.* Now these brothers numbered seven hundred and eight monks. For two days they offered prayers* while the saint lay ailing of a fever; but on the third night* there dawned on them of a sudden a fair and heavenly light and there appeared* an army of angels clothed in white, radiant and splendid as* the sun. They were divided into two choirs and they were singing and chanting* with their pleasant voices. The first choir was singing praises in these words:*

"The angels of the Lord are encamped around those who fear Him to defend them."* To which the second choir would respond as follows:

"The death of righteous men is precious in the eyes of the Lord;* He shall preserve them for ever and they shall not be put to shame in the evil* hour."

Then there came and stood amongst them a young man of an eager disposition,* clothed in a flame of fire. He spread his feathers above* the Blessed One and with this stirring of his wings a pleasant odour,* surpassing the fragrance of herbs and of the best spikenard, pervaded that place.* Mor Simeon opened his eyes and gazed at him and, after satisfying himself by this examination,* he acknowledged that he was that same angel that had come from time to time to visit him.

---

a) or: deacons.

12. Ps. 34:7 13. Ps. 116:15 14. Ps. 37:28 14-15. Ps. 37:19 18. Jn 12:3

1 A هقوم 2 A هوا 3 B add. هم

Then, looking the other way, he saw there also Mor Samuel, his master, and a cohort* of solitaries, lovely apparitions of a beautiful countenance; whereat the blessed Mor Samuel came close* to the victorious Mor Simeon to greet him[a].* All who were worthy of that spiritual vision saw him. Then all the disciples fell* upon him to take their leave of him[a] with an embrace before his departure from* the body.

When they had all finished, a voice came from heaven, saying, "Welcome, my servant* and soldier Simeon! Triumph in the contest is yours. Come and enter the Kingdom of Heaven!"* This voice was heard by all the monks foregathered there.* Thrice this voice proclaimed its summons: "Simeon! Come to your Lord's glad pleasure!",* then the air reverberated with the din of lightning and heavy thunder, so that violent trembling came upon* them all and they were afraid. Even the ground on which they were standing* was moaning like a pregnant woman at the time of her delivery.

But after a while the din* and the turmoil of the elements subsided and the creation held its peace; and the soul of the Champion left his body* and was conveyed away by gentle angels. The many mustered legions of their convoy[b] could be seen flying upwards into the air* in two separate choirs,* singing and glorifying and praising; and the soul of Mor Simeon was between* the (two) choirs under their watchful surveillance. Then the gate of heaven opened and the heavenly host went in* with the noble soul; and they were seen no more.

Immediately* the brothers went in and gazed at the saint, whose face was set towards the East* and whose complexion was bright and resplendent as the sun. Every one of them fell

a) "to give him peace".
b) "crowds, crowds and legions, legions"

9. Mt 25:23 12. *cf.* Rom. 8:22

upon (that) pure and undefiled body and embraced it and kissed it, bedewing* the ground upon which they stood with their tears and bitterly mourning his departure* from their midst.

The news of his death went out with messengers whom they sent into regions (round about).* A vast number of people came from the towns and the villages.* So many were they that the sound of their lamentations could be heard at a distance of two miles.* For seven days and seven nights the whole congregation sustained a vigil of prayer over the Blessed One.* On the eighth day they lifted up the holy body and they all touched it for a blessing.* Then they carried it in solemn procession and placed it in a tomb with much respect and ceremony.*

The day of his coronation[a] was a Tuesday,* the nineteenth of January in the year seven hundred and forty-four (A.D.433)* of the Greeks, in which the synod of two hundred and twenty* bishops met in the city of Ephesus at the command of the serene king* Theodosius the Younger, on account of Nestorius. (Mor Simeon) has another feast-day* for the singing of his merits on the seventh of October.

14) It is right, O my beloved children of the Church of God, that you should be told what happened* after the death of the Champion. For as it is Satan's way never to cease from (the provocation of) disturbance and strife* and quarrelling and contention wherever he sees love, excellence and harmony, so on that occasion the Evil One went* and made his hunting-lair[b] in the hearts of the people of Qartmin and they obeyed his promptings.* They all arose and took common counsel together, to devise a means[c] by which they might go

a) *i.e.* death; so called because like a martyr, Simeon had emerged as champion in a contest; *cf.* XXII.7, LVI.1.
b) "set up an ambush".
c) "and they thought and they wanted".

9-10. *Cal.TA*, Jan.19 11-13. *Chr.Edessa 540*, A.G.744 13-14. *Cal.TA*, ?

1 A ̄ (for lack of space at end of line) 2 A

to the abbey and take away the body of Mor Simeon and enshrine it*
in their village church. So they sent envoys to the monks
with this message:*
"This precious deposit of life belongs to us; it is now our
resolve to reclaim it.* We are afraid that the passage of a few
years might wipe out the memory of this fact and (enable) you to say,
'If* this treasure were yours it would be in your village or in your
church'.* At present, however, everyone can testify that this Mor
Simeon is one of us,* for his family and his stock is still extant
and preserved. It is right, therefore, that he be returned*
to his (first) abode and dwelling and to the land of his fathers."
When the monks* heard this they sent a letter to Mor Dioscorus, the
patriarch of Alexandria,* he that expelled from the holy church the
wicked Flavian* of Constantinople and Domnus, the evildoer, of Antioch;
also Irenaeus,* the rebel, of Tyre, and the cunning Ibas of Edessa,
besides the proud* and loathsome Theodoret of Cyrrhus. That man of God,
Dioscorus,* made all haste and came to this abbey of the House of Mor
Simeon, with ten bishops in his train.* After a while, when he had
settled down, he began to rebuke* and to reprove the Qartminites
concerning this matter.(a) But their wicked envy was not appeased.*
In the end it all resulted in their assembling* one thousand eight
hundred stubborn swordsmen together and making ready (for battle).*
That night Mor Simeon himself appeared to Archbishop* Dioscorus in
a dream and said to him, "Do not surrender me

a) "in a matter such as this"; either there is something missing after these words, or else the words 'such as' should be omitted and the remnant translated as above.

9f. *Chr.Qartmin 819*, A.G.756.

ܠܐ . ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܬ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܗܕܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܥܝ

ܠܡܥܒܕ ܘܠܡܣܒ ܒܝܕ ܚܝܠ. ܘܢܦܠܘ. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘ

ܐܝܟ ܕܢܐ. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܗ

ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܡ ܘܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܐ ܒܓܘ ܐ a72b

5 ܩܕܡ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܚܘܗ ܕܐܬ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܓܡܥ. 5

ܠܐܦܝ ܘܢܦܩܘ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ. ܩܕܡ

ܐܝܟ. ܡܢ ܒܝ ܗܢܘܢ ܘܐܬ ܩܕܡ. ܐܠܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܬܓܡܥ

ܘܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܡ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬ ܗ B98b² ܐ ! ו

ܐܬܓܡܥ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܬ ܩܕܡ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬ ܗ ܘܐܬ ܗ. ܡܢ ܗ

ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܬ ܘܐ ܘܐ ܐ ܘܐ ܐ. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ 10 10

ܐ ܐ

1. the commemoration of the brothers who were slain on the sixth
of October. Their prayer be with us, Amen!*

2. 15) On the day following these events the tombs in the burial
3. vaults of the abbey were cleared out* at the command of the
4. patriarch;* four hundred and eighty-three skulls were found in
5. them. (That was) on the seventh of October.* In the same
year, seven hundred and fifty, the second Council of Ephesus met
6. in the time* of Theodosius the Younger.
7. Then* the patriarch Mor Dioscorus, who is worthy to be
8. remembered with approval, returned in triumph* to his glorious
9. see in the power of God Who magnifies His saints;* to Whom be
glory and worship and exaltation, and mercy and pity on the
10. children of the holy church* in both worlds for ever and ever,
Amen!*

11. HERE ENDS THE STORY OF MOR SIMEON OF QARTMIN.

12. HIS PRAYER BE WITH US! AMEN![a]

a) There follows in the London MS a formula in Arabic, as follows: "End of the biography of Mār Simʿān (Mor Simeon) the saint; and this is the story of the saint Mār Ghabrayil (Mor Gabriel) from the country (or village) of Qusṭay."

1. *Cal.TA*, Oct.6 2f. *Cal.TA*, Oct.6

15

B99a² a74a

The note at the bottom was added by the editor; a inserts between the two Lines, in Arabic:
كملت سيرة مارى شمعان القريشن وهذه قصة القديس مارى غبرايل من بلاد قوسطاي

Further: THE STORY OF MOR GABRIEL, BISHOP OF THE SACERDOTAL ABBEY OF THE HOUSE OF MOR SIMEON AT QARTMIN, WHO IS CALLED 'QUSTANOYO' AFTER THE NAME OF HIS VILLAGE

1) Beloved, seeing that I had not long ago recounted certain details about this holy congregation,* I thought it now my duty to continue this series* of stories with the present narrative; for how should one not be blamed* for speaking (only) of certain individuals, while passing over in silence a great multitude of the blessed men?* Yet he who wishes to write about them* will fall far short of narrating all they did!*

This godly congregation was gathered from abbeys and monasteries and from* cities and villages of every part and every land. It numbered no less than eight hundred (monks),* all of whom burned with the zeal of faith, juniors* and seniors alike. Girded with the armour of truth, they went out as fit men and strong* to meet the Devil in constant warfare. Indeed, a man would have to be* numb in his mind and blind in his heart not to be moved* deeply, as though startled out of sleep - not to come to repentance,* to turn his thoughts to sorrowing, to weep with groaning, to set himself to the spiritual labour* of the work of righteousness, and to hold fast to the strenuous course of truth* - at the sight of such fine old men with their splendid gray beards bowed under the yoke

4f. *cf. LL.Eastern Saints*, ch. 35 — 13. Eph. 6:14 — 19. Mt 11:29-30

P36

(1)

1 suppl. ed. (*cf.* LL. Eastern Saints, p.[405]) — 2 mss. ܐܠ (*cf.n.1*)
3 a add. ܕܡ

of such excellent labours, and of those others who, in the short space before they were crowned,* held fast to their course on the way of abstinence, asceticism and holiness.* They kept their vigil, persevering in fasting and in the regular daily and nightly Hours of prayer.* At all times and on all occasions they stood in presence of God.*

How amazing it was to hear the thunder of their admirable voices and to listen* to their sweet and godly chanting - not only that prescribed by the Rule, but also* that of individuals on their own - (as it went up) in the winter season from every house,* cell, corner, portico, and courtyard* in the abbey. In summer, too, it was to be admired and wondered at,* how they would stand all night long, in circles and in many places* - (some) would go down into the great broad wadi and even further away from it* and there they would stand and chant, some alone, some in pairs,* others in a group of four or ten or twenty or more, or else* a disciple with his master. There were others who lay prostrate on their tear-stained faces, sobbing and groaning,* and the sound of their weeping could be heard far and wide.*

Between the night office and morning prayers there was not* one of them who allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and all day long* they would "meditate on the law of the Lord", as David the prophet says, "both day* and night", in the long drawn-out prayers of Prime, Lauds, Terce, Sext, Nones,* Vespers and Compline.(a) They distanced themselves with contempt from all vain gossip

a) "of the night and of the morning and of the third and the sixth and the ninth hours and of the evening and of Protection"; for the origin of this last term, see Ps.91:1, which is sung at Compline.

19. Ps. 1:2

1 a مزمور 2 in margin of a: صلوة عامة

and from social intercourse and from all laughter and frivolity, instead* of which they gave thanks, as the Apostle commanded,[2] with anguished repentance* and tears. (They were all at) one (in their) conversation (with) and contemplation of God, (at) one (in their) conformity of life and dress[a],* (at) one (in) harmony; each had the same submissiveness, the same meek serenity[b], the same equality,* the same pure regard, the same humble and reverent speech. They were sensible; they were not* loose in their behaviour. In short, they kept their eyes open for each other's good example,* and so learned chastity and persevered in the works of righteousness.*

If a discerning man were to examine their way of life, their sufferings,* their monastic habit, their unceasing offices, he would truly <say>* that they were made in the very likeness of the heavenly ones. From the first Hour* of the night not one of them could be found on his rug; they were all keeping watch* and bending their knees in prayer. In fact each one was spurred on by envy to emulation of his fellow* - not the base (kind of) envy, but that which motivates improvement. Wrapped in wonder they would stand,* watching and striving, some with tears, others in (mute) suffering; others again* would stand in narrow standing-places[c], and others would prop themselves up against walls the whole night long* without any other support; others strung ropes beneath* their armpits and suspended themselves; others refrained from turning over from one side onto the other* until the side that was underneath remained as dead. Whether old* or young, strong or weak, they never ceased from this laborious contest.* So let us rejoice and be glad when we hear of these men! Let us awake as if startled

a) "one order, one habit".
b) "one submissiveness, one meek serenity", and so forth.
c) "*stationes*"; for the use of *qawmo* to mean 'standing-places', see *LL.Eastern Saints*, p.[82].

2. I Th. 5:18

1 *suppl. ed.* 2 a وقعي

out of a deep sleep, to emulate their goodly lives. Their ordeals* and their labours are such that I am unable to set down one hundredth part of them and I fall far short of the full measure* of their beauty. This is because each one of them set out to learn by imitating his fellows,* striving by their behaviour and their emulation to get ahead in the race of righteousness.* As a result most of them gained the power to work signs.* They would drive out demons in full sight of all and perform powers and healings in sick people;* in some cases those of them who were healed were converted to the yoke of the monastic life.*

Not only that, but even <after their death> those men* exhibited miracles as (they had) in their lifetime, so that a great many people, enthralled by the (very) rumour* of these wonders, came running from far-off countries to* this holy congregation, to obtain the much-praised blessing* of the Blessed Ones. As for such as stood in need of healing,* there was no delay: relief came quickly to them, in an instant, and they regained their health.* Then they would thank and praise Christ (our) God, to Whom be praise and thanks,* with worship and superlative dignity, and to His Father and to the Holy Spirit,* and for ever and ever, Amen!

2) To pass over in silence the history of this holy and sacerdotal abbey is far from my intention,* so let me tell you, my faithful audience, at least a small part of it[(a)];*

In the twenty-first year of the reign of the victorious

a) This section is subjected to a close examination in Chapter Four.

7. Mt 11:29-30

1 sc. الفضيلة; cf. LXXVI 2 suppl. BP

and merciful Anastasius (A.D.512), who 'put on Christ' and was clothed in the garment* of the Orthodox Faith of the Christians(a), in which he drove out and expelled the accursed Macedonius* from the Church and installed in his place the praiseworthy Timothy - in this same* year John Sa^{c}oro was ordained Metropolitan of the city of Amida,* and the same John built there the temple of the Forty Martyrs and the bridge* outside the city over the river Tigris - <...>.

When, therefore, King Anastasius heard* of the fine reputation of the blessed men in this abbey, he sent much gold* with his servants, and craftsmen such as prepare hewn stone* and baked bricks, and (other) skilled craftsmen, and architects, for the construction* of the Great Temple, the foundations of which were laid by the angel and Mor Simeon.* The names of the architects were Theodore and Theodosius, and they were surnamed* 'the sons of Shufnay'. He sent also goldsmiths and silversmiths and bronzesmiths and ironsmiths,* men to make pictures and chisellers(b) of marble blocks, men skilled in putting together mosaics to make the forms of crosses,* and well-ordered committees of learned advisers, (all of them) skilled in building in a manner worthy* for the purpose of praising God and of honouring His saints.

Then, in the night* following the arrival of the craftsmen sent by King Anastasius and their entry into the abbey, it was revealed* to them in a dream that they should not remove the stones placed by the angel from* their place, but should put the great stone blocks on top of them; and they did just as it had been revealed* to them.

Thus was the Temple built and perfected;* and its dimensions are as follows:

Length: thirty-seven(c) cubits.*

a) *i.e.* those who did not accept the doctrine of the Synod of Chalcedon (451).
b) "combers"; the tool in question is probably a claw (*cf.* XXVII.2, LXXXI.1); see edd. Strong and Brown, *Roman Crafts* (1976), p.197, with illustration.
c) This should be 'forty-seven', to correspond with the actual building.

1. Gal. 3:27 4-6. *Chr.Qartmin 819, A.G.795*

a796 ... P39 ... a796 ... B101a ... a796 ...

1 *in margin of* a: ... 2 MSS. ... 3 *in margin of* a: THMOθOC 4 BP ... 5 MSS. ...

Breadth: twenty-five (cubits)

Height: twenty-five (cubits)

Thickness of walls:* seven (cubits)

Beyond the Temple on the east side, forming the innermost part, were built three chambers.* The central chamber is the Holy of Holies. Its Throne* is a block of marble, of length six and a half spans and breadth* four and a half. It has images sculpted on its four sides,* depicting a lion, an ox, an eagle and a man. On the stone is set a vessel,* gorgeous and regal, encircled by a band forged from silver, in which are* three hundred[a] medallions, with the Dispensation[b] represented on them in pictures. Above the Throne* is a Cherub and a bronze dome supported (by) and mounted upon four* pillars. In the sanctuary is a hanging lamp of pure gold, which is suspended on a chain* of silver.

The floor of the sanctuary is paved with cross-designs, formed with white,* black, red, green, purple and amber marble (pieces), in various designs.* The surrounding walls are revetted with marble slabs, above which,* on the vault, are cross-designs (composed) of gilded *tesserae*.

Back in the Temple again,* on either side of the entrance to the sanctuary are fixed two bronze trees,* each of height twenty cubits. On the leaves* of the trees there were[c] places for trembling lanterns, one hundred and eighty on each* tree, and (there were[c]) fifty silver chains (attached to the branches) from top to bottom (of the trees),* on which (were[c]) suspended bronze objects resembling scarlet eggs, and cauldrons,* animals, birds, crosses, crowns, bells, lamps(?) and wheels,

a) This should probably read 'eight'.
b) = Greek: *oikonomia*; *i.e.* the Mystery of the Incarnation.
c) This might be emended by the omission of one word to read 'are' throughout.

1 mss. ܐܪܒܥ (x2) 2 mss. ܐܠܝܒ 3 a ܕܡܫܟ 4 suppl.ed. 5 a ܘܪܒ 6 a ܘܡܠܐܟ 7 mss. ܐܬܬ 8 mss. ܐܬܬ; NAU: ܐܬܬ (p.[102])

some of which (were[a]) of gold and some of silver and some of bronze.*
It is quite impossible to calculate a figure that would represent the combined weight of all these things.

This splendid Temple* was built in the middle of the abbey. It is surrounded by porticoes* on the north, south and west (sides). The whole structure of the Temple rests on* the little pebbles and chips of rock which were laid by the angel and Mor Simeon:* the ground was not excavated to sink foundations for it. On the south side the architects left* this (rubble) to be shown, so that men might see that it had not been cemented or clamped together with iron[b].* All visitors come and touch the rubble for a blessing[c]; and the earth and the sand between* the stones can be used to heal all kinds of illness.

The finishing touches were put to this holy Temple* and these amazing objects and regal vessels of the highest quality were brought* from the Imperial City in the year eight hundred and twenty-three (A.D.511/2), *in which Mor Severus was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch.

3) Now the brothers of this famous abbey were possessed of sound discipline;* the consensus of their spiritual harmony was unanimous, their provisions and their expenditure were made from a common purse,* they ate together, and they provided for themselves as a community by their spiritual and physical labours.*

Six years went by in the abbey[d] after the Temple had been built,* then the believing King Anastasius died. His death occurred in the year* eight hundred and twenty-nine (A.D.517/8); he was succeeded by Justinian,[e] who restored* the policy of official support for the Council of Chalcedon and persecuted the Orthodox. He expelled

a) See the last note on the previous page.
b) "that they might be shown and seen that neither lime nor iron had fallen on them".
c) "everyone who comes is blessed by them".
d) "they completed six years".
e) *i.e.* Justin II, whom several Syriac chroniclers call 'Justinian I'.

sections 3 and 4. *cf. Lb.Eastern Saints*, chapter 35

1.2. Mor Severus from Antioch and Mor Akhsnoyo[(a)] from Mabbugh* and Mor
3. Anthimos from Constantinople and Theodosius[(b)]* from Alexandria.*

4. 4) After that occurred the 'descent to the East' of Ephraim the
5. persecutor, Patriarch of Antioch.* He sent to the abbey to
6. persuade the monks with forceful arguments* that they should
throw in their lot with his party, but they paid no attention to
7. his request. So he sent* an armed force against them, while he
himself took up residence in the church at Nisibis, and he pursued
8. and scattered* them to many regions.
9. There is much that I could tell about this persecution,* but
for the space it would take up in my narrative; and besides, the
10. aim of this account is not* to treat of the persecution, but rather
11. of the successes of the saints* and of this abbey.

As a result of this wicked Ephraim's persecutions, the monks
12. were scattered* in every direction: some went to the massif of
13. Corduene or to the mountainous regions* of the interior to the North,
14. others to the desert of [c]Arab or to the province of Singara,* or
else to Mount Izala and other places, because of the violence of
15. the persecution.* There they built many monasteries and abbeys.

But they returned to this holy abbey: they came back after
16. an interval* of twenty years, and found it breached and
17. its buildings ruined.* But the Temple had suffered no harm.
18. When they went* inside, they found there two lions and their cubs
19. with them.* It was for fear of these lions that no-one had hung
about the abbey.

---

a) *i.e.* Philoxenos.
b) Perhaps we should supply the title 'Mor'.

P41

(4) 10 15

1 a ... 2 a ...; B ... 3 *in margin of* A: ...

1. When the lions saw the monks reassembled, they came and bowed
2. their heads and worshipped* them and, like a deposit which has
3. been in safe-keeping for its owners, they delivered to them* the
   Temple and the abbey. The lions went to a certain hollow cliff in
4. the vicinity* of the abbey, where they stayed until their cubs were
   grown. After that they went away and were never seen again.*
5. As for the monks, they rebuilt the ruins and shored up the
6. damaged buildings.* But they were the victims twice more of the
7. storms of persecution* and were scattered for a total of ten years;
8. but they came back again in strength, about* seven hundred and
9. ninety-eight (of them). Thus homecoming took turns with exile*
   until the end of the life of King Justinian(a).*

10. 5) In the year eight hundred and ninety-one (A.D.579/80) the Persians came
11. up and set fire* to this holy abbey. But God had his revenge on
12. the Magians(b):* the Royal *Marzban* (*cf.* VIII.15) died and their
13. armed forces slaughtered one another in vast numbers,* so that
    everyone (on our side) gave glory to God.*

14. 6) Seeing that tradition tells us that men of former times were at
15.16. pains carefully and diligently* to record the deeds of holy men* in
    books, firstly, because the power of God was demonstrated* by their
    agency towards everyone to the glory of His Name, secondly, to comme-
17. morate* the righteousness of those who strove
    to please God and to do His will,

a) See LXI, note e.
b) A reference to the Persians' Zoroastrian religion; in fact, only the priests were called 'Magians'.

10-11. *Chr.Qartmin 819*, A.G.891 sections 6-8. *cf. LL.Eastern Saints*, ch.36

and thirdly, <that> those who read their stories may become emulators*
of their lives and strivers after the Lord in their likeness, I also
now,* having considered such things, recognize that it is my duty*
to make a record of a chaste and upright man, a just and energetic
worker* at the task of devotion(a), our spiritual Father, who all
his life shone like a bright star* by his behaviour, and was deemed
worthy to be gathered up in a good end* and to be entombed in such
a godly abbey as this (of ours), in which he gained* perfection(b)
and a fair fame, that chief and Chosen One of God, that great and
all-blessed* holy bishop, that victor in virtue: Mor Gabriel, at
whose* christening the priest was well prompted by the Holy Spirit,*
who called him by such a name; for it means: 'Man of God'.*

7) This saint was from the region of Tur ᶜAbdin, from a village*
called Beth Qustan, which is near the township of Ḥah,* to the
East of it and a little to the North. When he was a small boy he
learned* reading and writing, and studied the Holy Scriptures, from
which he gained* strength and understanding. He became a deacon
in that same village.* His parents wanted him to get married in
the way of the world, but he* paid no attention to their pleas.
That was when he decided to run* towards spiritual marriage and
to bear his Lord's gentle and light yoke*

a) "the fear of God".
b) Or: was ordained priest.

19. Mt 11:29-30

P43 ⊕ ... 1 suppl. BP 2 suppl. BP 3 a ... 4 suppl. ed. 5 a ... 6 in margin of a: ΓΒΡΗΕΛ 7 a ...

on his neck, and to put his cross on his shoulder and go* after him. Having adopted this resolution he got up there and then in the middle of the night* to pray in the village church. Now he was physically resilient* when it came to fasting and prayer. He prayed to the Lord to make the way straight for him* to go after Him, and to make him worthy to do His Will. That same night,* without his parents' knowledge, he arose and set off to find a certain old and perfect man* of God, whose name was George. He was an mourner(a)* with no possessions at all; and he could work miracles and powers. He dwelt to the East* of the township of Hah at a distance of no more than a parasang(b). When* the blessed Mor Gabriel arrived where that saint was,* he began to entreat him, with prayers and pleas and much weeping,* to accord him the honour of living with him and of being his disciple. Then that old man* looked (at him) with the piercing eye of the Holy Spirit, and recognised that a 'chosen vessel'* was to be made of him. He took him on gladly and gave him thorough instruction* before clothing him with the chaste habit of a monk; and he taught him the order* and the labours pertaining to the Way that leads to the Kingdom.*

8) Since he was bent on emulating the ways of that venerable old man,* Mor Gabriel imposed on himself harsh and strenuous labours: fasting* and lengthy prayers and unbroken vigils. He would sleep two hours of the night

a) See pp. 85 f.
b) *i.e.* 3½ English miles, or 5.6km.

1. Mt 10:38, 16:24; Mk 8:34,10:21; Lk 9:23, 14:27 13. Acts 9:15

1 in margin of a: جرجس 2 a ومدا

to satisfy the demands of his body, but for the rest of the night <he would perform> prostrations and genuflexions* and long prayers in a standing position. In addition to these things he resolved* to be austere and to go barefoot; to possess nothing but sorrow and tears; and to be humble.* He underwent vigorous training in the fear of God, subjecting his body and subduing it* by harsh exertions.

But the old man, his master, saw that by his fierce behaviour* he was treating his body with excessive severity, so much so, indeed, that in the bitter* cold of winter he left his feet unshod until his blood ran out* on the ground and neglected to bandage them, and he made an iron undergarment* for his body, above which he wore a shirt made of* goat-hair; and his master reproved him, saying that he should not discipline his body beyond its strength.* His parents also came and entreated him thus:* "O son of ours according to the flesh! You should accept the advice of your spiritual Father,* and obey your master, whatever his precept may be!" But he fell down* on the ground and wept in front of his master and said, "What I inflict on my body* is by no means as much as its brazen arrogance deserves!* These ordeals are nothing at all in comparison with my wicked, sinful deeds! Now,* O my Father, forgive me! For behold, I am seeking by what means I may subject and subdue* the bestial nature of my rebellious body, that harmful passions(a) may no longer arise in it."* When his master heard these words, he was amazed at the vehemence* of his will and he held his peace.

So the 'Man of God', lived full seven years with the old man,

a) The Syriac word-play might be reproduced in Greek: *ta pathē ex hōn gignetai to paskhein.*

7-8. *cf.* Heb. 12:4

1 a ܗܘܐ 2 suppl. BP 3 MSS. ܒܥܝ (cf. LL. Eastern Saints, p.[425]) 4 MSS. ܢܚܡ

but seeing that he was vexed and disturbed by his family and (especially) his parents,* he made up his mind to become a stranger to them. He asked of his master that he might go, and (he requested him) to pray* over him. So the two of them said the evening office together, then Gabriel took his leave of his master* and received his blessing to go wherever the Will of God should lead him.*

9) All that night he walked, and at dawn he reached this abbey of the House* of Mor Simeon. He went in and was blessed by the Blessed Ones who lived in it and by the whole brotherhood.* He asked for their prayers to be for him a saving weapon(a), and he set about observing their way of life.* He strove diligently with all his soul to emulate their exertions.* The brothers, for their part, received him with joy and gave him* a cell, in which for many years he imprisoned his body and subdued it by the exercise of righteousness.* Afterwards they set him over themselves as Head of the Brothers and they were* all subject to his command. So (Gabriel), the 'Man of God', by means of the excellent behaviour* which he cultivated - and he flourished in righteousness like a fountain gushing* with water - , gave healing to men and would cure every sickness and every ill.* He performed many signs and wonders by the 'hidden power* of God'(b) that went with him.

10) Now in the time of the blessed Mor Gabriel, when he was Head of the abbey,* there came a certain Arabian from the Desert of ᶜArab in the South,

a) Or: protective armour; the same phrase is translated 'an aegis of salvation' at LIII.8.
b) *cf.* XXXIII, note a.

171. *cf. Chr.Zuqnin 775*, II, pp.160-63

A rich merchant he was and of great wealth. He arrived at this abbey* bringing with him a greal deal of gold and he came into this place to* a certain perfect monk who was upright in (his) ways.* The Arab saw the discretion of the monk and resolved* that he would leave some of his gold with his saintly old friend, whether on account (of the frailty) of life (in general) or on account of the danger of the journey.* Now this was !God's doing! So the Arab left* with the old man one thousand dinars and commanded his friend as follows: "If* I should return alive, I shall reclaim what is mine with gratitude; but if I should die* on this journey, I shall send my slaves with written authorization to take the gold themselves."* That old man, for his part, held his peace and spoke not a word.

Then the Arab sent off his baggage-chains* on his camels and marshalled his slaves and set off on his journey to the northern regions.* He stayed three years in the cities of the interior and the Lord prospered* his trading richly. But when he got (back) to this holy abbey,* he found that his friend the old man had been dead for a year or so. He made thorough enquiries* concerning him and asked people, "Where is my friend? He has a deposit* of mine and I want it back." They told him, "He has left* this life." He said to them, "What, then, did he instruct you concerning me?" They said to him,* "He told us nothing at all about your deposit nor about you. But there is* a chaste disciple of his, who will not withhold any information he may have received concerning the gold.* For we know him (to be) a truthful man like his master was". The Arab said to them

one leaf missing in A

B104a²

1 read ? 2 a hand

"Come now, show me the disciple, for I do not know him".

Then the disciple was summoned* into the assembly of the brothers and the Arab asked the disciple about the gold.* But he replied, "I know nothing of what you say". Then the Arab* rebuked him angrily and said, "Your master was a just and an upright man and it was because I knew* that he was God-fearing that I entrusted him with my gold. Often* I tried to persuade him - begged him even - to take] a little of the gold,* if only one coin, or else some food or clothing - although he never yielded to such pressure* - for I knew that if he were to accept anything from me I should soon* be compensated for it by his Lord. So I know now that he would not have cheated* me of the gold I left with him. But as for you, you blockhead,* ignoramus, of this you may be certain: if you do not return to me the deposit which your master left with you,* I shall dissect you limb from limb and (I shall torment you) with brandings of fire* and with cruel tortures; and do not suppose that I shall cease from this until* I have extinguished your life!" The disciple, being ignorant of this matter,* was at a loss for words, so he just said: "The Lord's Will* be done! He will reveal the truth." Then the Arab took the innocent man* in anger and dragged him face downwards to the ground and led him to the place where his slaves were encamped* with his merchandise; and there he set about him with torturing* and with cruel blows all that day. At nightfall he chained him up with iron fetters.* As for the monks, they were at a loss what to say to the Arab on account of the amount of his deposit,

15-16. *cf.* Mt 6:10

and they had not the wherewithal to offer compensation for the gold.*

When the day dawned, the Arab began (once more) to torture the disciple. The victim of this abuse wept* bitterly from the pain of his torments. He was heard by God's bishop, Mor* Gabriel, who went to the House of Saints, there to pray to God concerning the gold.* (At this point), the disciple looked up and saw the Man of God and he set off at a run bringing* the Arab with him, and he came and found the Chosen One lying face downards* above the tomb of the master of (that) disciple. When his prayer was finished, he called the Arab* and said to him, "Come over here!"; and he came and stood behind him. Then the Blessed One cried out* aloud, "(I adjure you), O blessed Father, by the God before whom you laboured in justice* and in righteousness: tell me, where is the gold of this Arab!"* No sooner had he spoken than a voice arose from within the tomb which spoke as follows: "I,* John, who fell asleep here one year ago, tell you, O Chosen One* of God, that the gold is still in the place where its owner himself dug a hole and placed it, without* my (even) touching it; and there is no-one who knows where it is* except he alone." Then the Lord cleared the mind of the Arab and he understood* what the deceased one was saying from within the tomb; and he began to ask the saintly* Mor Gabriel to open up the tomb for him that his faith might be confirmed.*

The Blessed One did not prevent him, but rather granted his wish according to his request. So the Arab went down* into the tomb and found the dead man wrapped and enveloped in a shroud,* having loosened which he gazed at him for a while.

When he was sure that it was his friend,

1 in margin of a: يوحنا

he prostrated himself upon him and kissed him, and weeping said, "How blessed I am* to have been worthy to be blessed by your holiness! From now onwards - your Lord is my witness!* - I shall never leave this holy abbey nor the vicinity of your resting-place,* in which the dead converse and speak with the living on equal terms* whenever they will. For in truth I know that there is no God except* Christ, to whom be glory for ever!"

Then they restored* the tomb to its former state; and the Arab went to the place where he had buried the treasure* [with his own hands, and found it with the seals that were on it still unbroken and whole.* Immediately he freed his slaves and gave them much gold* and each of them went whither he would. His camels he left* to bring grain to the abbey, but all (the rest) of his wealth he distributed in gifts* to the poor, except that which he offered(a) for the adornment of the Great Temple. And forthwith* he was baptized and was given the name 'John' after his friend who had died.* He built himself a hut of wood and leaves outside the entrance to the House* of Saints - the one with two chambers - to the North, and from that place he never strayed until* the day of his death, neither in summer nor in winter, according to his original promise.* God, seeing the love he had towards Himself, gave him power to heal* the sick; and the fame of him was spread abroad in this region and indeed everywhere. Were it not* for the length of the story, there would be much that we could tell about the Triumphs* of this man, who performed (even) more miracles after his death than in his life.

a) "and the rest of it he placed" (*cf.* VI.11-12).

[One leaf missing in B]

1 B om. 2 MSS. ⟨ ⟩ 3 B om.

The day of his crowning was the fifth of November: may his commemoration bring blessing* and his prayer be with us, Amen!

11) At the same time, in the year nine hundred and sixty-five of the Greeks (A.D.653/4), in which* the Persians flooded out of Mesopotamia and Heraclius entered Edessa,* occurred the ordination of our Father the all-blessed Mor Gabriel as a bishop at* the hands of Mor Athanasius, the patriarch, in the monastery of Mor Jacob of Cyrrhus.*

12) Now this Mor Gabriel went to the court of the governor of the sons of Hagar,* who was ᶜUmar the son of Khaṭṭāb, in the city of Jazire. He was received* with great gladness and after a few days the Blessed One petitioned the governor* and received] his written authority concerning the statutes and laws and orders* and warnings and judgements and observances pertaining to the Christians; to churches and monasteries;* and to priests and deacons, that they should not pay vertebrae(a); and to monks that they should be* exempt from tribute; and that the (use of the) wooden gong should not be banned; and that they might practise the chanting of anthems* at the bier of a dead man when he leaves his house to be taken for burial, together with many (other) customs.* This prefect was pleased that the Blessed One had come to see him; as for the holy man he returned* to the abbey with great joy.

13) It was a rule of the brotherhood that none of the monks should bring

a) Doubtful interpretation: perhaps the poll-tax; *cf.* p. 187.

1. *Cal.TA*, Nov.5

وم مم[1] حوكلاه سعما حدهنم اسنا. وحجنه لحوذحدا
مركذاه حمم امليم ٭

(11) حه لمحجنا⊕ وهند[2] لمحمدا ماهدم مسعف ينقنا. وحة[3] P48
خبه مقحه فنهما هم حيه نهوتم. مللا موهلالاؤهه٭
5 الماهنس احن لهجم حملا منه[4] لحنالاقبمحفما هم 5
ايتب منه الالماهدهه فهنذا. حبنا ومنه بحمحه وحفؤهه.

(12) ماللا وم هه منه لحنالا. لحا اسبه همكلها وحتم هفخ.
وهه امدهه حفهنه[5] حه نهلاه لحبنا مبنه. ٭فجلحه B105b[2]
حنبوفا وحدا ٭حدة نفقدا فجلا يالاهما هم اسبا هه
10 لهجلا ٭مهجلا[6] لحنا[5] ابؤهه مللا صنقا مسقهما. ٭فقحبا a94a
لهؤهه. ٭وتبا نهوهه الاؤهه مللا حنهنما. مللا حنالا ٭ونظا.
مللا حنقا مسقهما ولا يدجم هنقا. مللا ونقا ويحمم
مسنؤا[7] هم فنالا. ٭ولا نجلا نحمما. ٭ويحمم انفم مقتسدا
حبم حنهما وحسبا مدا ونهم هم حمدا ويدنجا. حمر انقا.
15 هنقا. ٭مبب هما هلكها حمدابده وهحدا ولماه. ٭مهمم 15
حمهدا هه حبها حمبسدا وحدا ٭.

(13) نمهمما امه هما حمه انقا. ولا نبدا ٭نبلا سب هم ونسقا

1 B om. 2 B ? الهنؤ 3 MSS. حدة 4 B om.
5 a لحنالا 6 a لمهجلا 7 a مسنؤا

anything into the Refectory and put it on his table, except for what the community provided* and put on the table. One of the monks, however,* a greedy and an arrogant man, holding (this) rule in contempt, brought some salad and olives* and put it on the table. The Blessed One first cautioned him at length, but when he saw* that he did not hold back his hand from the food, he addressed a sermon to the monks about not breaking* the statutes and rules of the monastery; and he ordered that wretch not to taste the extra (food)* which he had put before him. But the wretch, puffed up with pride of his heart, far* from accepting (this rebuke) with intelligence, spoke against him rather words of contradiction.

Then* the Blessed One cursed with terrible curses anyone who should presume to break the established statutes.* When the brothers were dismissed and went out and the presumptuous (monk) also made off in a hurry* to go to the House of Honours, he had stomach convulsions in the lavatory;* all his intestines spilled out and he died. Later one of the monks went into the *necessarium** and saw that he had died and went and told the brothers, who came and took him out for burial.* From that time on the monks were gripped with fear and they resolved* that no one should transgress the commandments and canons of the monastery.*

14) But again, there was another monk who, at the time when the servitors[a] had (just) set out the meal[b]* on the table, stretched out his hand and took a leaf of salad and put it* in his mouth before the holy man had pronounced a blessing over the meal[b]. (The saint) looked at that (man) and saw* his presumption, but he did not curse him. Instead, he said, "My son, it is not right

a) Syriac: *shabthoye*; see p. 82.
b) "the bread".

that anyone should eat anything before the blessing and the sign of the cross." But he refused to listen and ignored* what had been said(a). That same day he vomited his inwards out of his mouth and died* in cruel agony.

15) Now one day a great crowd of vagrants and paupers came to* this same abbey and the servitors went and told the blessed Mor Gabriel,* complaining of the number of them. They said, "We want you [to know]*, Father, that what we've prepared for the brothers to eat(b) - there's a whole lot of vagrants* lodged on the kitchen doorstep, and we've no means of satisfying both their needs* and the needs of the brotherhood. Tell us what to do!" Then the saint replied to them calmly,* "Glory be to Christ, who provides for and nourishes all!* Well, then, my sons, go and take out (food) and restore the paupers and the vagrants, and if there is nothing left over,* let the brothers fast today, but let the need of the poor be satisfied!"* So the servitors went and did as he had told them. There was, in fact, a little* food left over.

When prayers were finished, the blessed Father addressed a sermon* to the brotherhood: "My brothers and my sons! Let it be known to you* that that which was prepared for the evening meal has been given by the servitors to the paupers* and vagrants who visited us today, that they might eat [for the sustenance] of their lives.* Here is what little was left over! Let everyone take some as a blessing* and receive it thankfully without grumbling; for thus he shall have his recompense from God!"

a) "he did not bring it to his heart".
b) Colloquial anacoluthon, reflecting the agitation of the speakers.

4f. *cf. LL.Eastern Saints*, ch.35

They all accepted his word and gave thanks for the food[a] and sat down* at table.

Now they had a custom of going up, after they had finished* the prayer for breaking the fast, from the Temple to the Refectory,* by the steps which are in the courtyard of the Temple and chanting this anthem: "They shall be inebriated* from the fatness of thy house". Then they would sit down at the wide tables, twelve in number,* (which were made) of polished blocks of white marble. There was a single meal[b]* prepared for all of them. So (on this occasion also) they sat down to [what] little food there was* on the table, each of them thinking that* one [or] two mouthfuls would be his lot. When by the prayers of Mor Gabriel* and by his petition to God, Who replies to those who call upon Him in sincerity,* the whole brotherhood ate and was abundantly satisfied; and the tables were found to be filled* generously with food[b], more than the usual daily meal.

Those monks, therefore,* that saw the miracle were open-mouthed with amazement and astonished and they all arose* from table and began to shout aloud many times Kyrie eleēson!* and to weep floods of tears. But Mor Gabriel said* to them, "See, my sons, our lack of faith and our injustice* towards God at all times, for he in his mercy visits us and shows* his concern for us. But we sought to deprive these brothers of ours* who came to visit us. For this sign which has been seen amongst us happened for the sake of these paupers also* as a rebuke to ourselves. For Christ himself

a) "for this".
b) "bread".

5. Ps. 36:8

gave commands about such as these in his Gospel and called them his brothers. Then fear* gripped them all. The bread that was left over they put in a great dish(a), which was carried* by four of the servitors. Not one-tenth* of the remnants left over after the whole crowd had been fed was taken. Now the fame of this* miracle was heard in every part and everyone crowded in to take* some of the miraculous remnants as a blessing, and it was kept* in their houses. All that heard (of it) praised God to whom be glory for ever* and ever, Amen!

16) Moreover it is said that our Father Mor Gabriel raised by the power of God* three people from the dead, [as is truly witnessed by those who saw him, one of whom* was called Joshua the Ṣophenian and another] Jacob of Arzon: these* were witnesses of the fact that he resurrected three dead people.

Mor Gabriel had a certain friend* who was the abbot of the Monastery of the Cross(b). This man* was just and he had attained great feats of ascetic prowess. It was he that asked of* God's bishop, that, whichever of them should first die, the other should come* and bury him. Now it happened that the abbot died. When he had fallen sick,* he had sent for Bishop Mor Gabriel to come to him and bury him;* and before he died the abbot had bound the brothers (of his monastery) by the Word of God, saying, "Behold, I* am dying. But do not bury me until Bishop Mor Gabriel comes!"

a) Syriac: *sufoqo*, a mediaeval word familiar from the Ṭuroyo, *sefoqo*; John of Ephesus, from whom this passage is adapted, has QPS' = Greek: *kapsa*, which being perhaps unintelligible to our author, he emended to a word containing the same consonants. *Sufoqo* is not in the dictionaries, but it is regarded a proper Syriac word by the native tradition.
b) Syriac: *dayro da-ṣlivo*.

1. Lk 14:13; *cf.* Mt 25:35f. 19. Hebr. 4:12

1 sc. الـقـدسـ ; cf. LVIII' 2 a هذا

When the abbot was dead, [they put on his vestments and placed him* in the House of Burial in a domed sepulchre. Now, at that season there was] much snow,* but because of his awesome prohibition there was no way they could avoid telling* the Blessed One. So they sent a messenger to him, who revealed to him that his friend had died.* Mor Gabriel arose forthwith without delay and went out in the snow on foot.* He gave instructions to his disciples to follow him and set off at great speed. On arriving* at the Monastery of the Cross, he sent off the messenger who was with him to go in and inform the monks* of his coming, that they might bring him a thurible and incense. As for the saint,* he turned aside and went in alone to the House of Burial and found his friend* wrapped and enveloped and reposing in the dome. For he was not to be placed* in the tomb, until the Blessed One should come and bury him with his own hands, according* to their solemn agreement. Mor Gabriel prostrated himself on the body of his friend and wept [and prayed]* to God; then he arose, took hold of his hand and raised him up; and for a long while he spoke with him.*

When the monks came for the burial of their Spiritual Father, weeping* sorrowfully on his account, they went in and found him resurrected and arisen. Then he walked* with them into the monastery. So instead of weeping and mourning they sent up praise* to God who gives success to his servants: (for) they were seized with a great admiration. They say,* moreover, that he that was resurrected lived fifteen (more) years. As for Mor Gabriel,* he became, in the eyes of all, a great saint.

1 a مغبوء 2 a اهجه

17) The Blessed One used to visit the region of his diocese.
On one occasion he went with his disciples* to a small hamlet
consisting of no more than nine or ten houses.* The name of it
was Sighun. [It] had no* church and no priests. [Now] it was a
custom of Mor Gabriel, whenever he came* within half a mile
of a village, to dismount and walk* on foot. So, when they reached
the village, he sent his disciples (ahead) to prepare* a place for
him. There was in this village a certain woman whose son had
died* that very day and had not yet been buried. She heard that
the bishop* was about to enter her village and she ran quickly
into her house* and put that dead son of hers on a bed(a) and
covered him. Then she went out* to intercept the disciples.
When she met them, it was with joy and gladness;* and she
welcomed them and kissed their feet. She took their mounts*
and led them into her house and put out straw and hay for them.
Then, without preamble,* she informed the disciples that her son
had died. They were much annoyed,* [because] the saint used to
caution them against lodging in a house where there was* a sick
or dead person. But since the woman had welcomed them so
hospitably* and had taken in their baggage(b), and had kissed their
feet, they were ashamed* to pass on to another house. So they went
out and told the bishop* of their difficulty. He, too, was very
badly affected by the news, but since they could find no way* to avoid
adding hurt(c) and distress(c) to the sorrow(c) of the woman - and he

a) "bed of sleep": the word for 'bed' can also mean 'bier'.
b) Or, possibly, 'animals'.
c) All one word, meaning 'pain' in Syriac.

(17) هذ معنه ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد
ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد ومحمد

1 MSS. ... 2 in margin of A: سيغون 3 AP ...
4 AP ... 5 A ... 6 A ... 7 AP ...

had not yet reached the point of entering the village but was seated outside it* - he came straight in to the house of that woman and requested a thurible* and incense. The disciples and the woman thought that he wanted the thurible for the burial of the child.* But he knelt down over the body of the dead (child) and burned incense* in the thurible and prayed with groaning and plentiful tears until the floor was wet (with them):* and God heard the voice of his heart-rending plea - He that does the will* of those that fear Him - and when (the saint) had prolonged his prayer for a great space of time, the spirit of the child* stirred in his limbs and be began to move from side to side. As soon as the saint* realised that his prayer had been heard and that the child was alive, he grasped him by the hand* and raised him to his feet. Then he called the mother of the deceased and said to her, "This* son of yours was not dead, but only asleep. Now he has awoken from* his slumber. Come and take him and suckle him with milk." He said* <that> he was asleep, in order that he might not be praised by men. As for the woman, she was* shaking with fear but she found voice to say to the saint, "I beg you Father* Bishop: [this] child has not yet received the sign of baptism. Now,* therefore, of your kindness towards me, put this finishing touch to the child and give him his part in spiritual birth!"* Mor Gabriel granted her plea and baptized him, giving him the name* Gabriel; and Mor Gabriel's disciple - Theodore was his name - told us* that the child who was resurrected lived a long time and took* a wife and had children.

11. Mt 9:24

1 a ܘܥܕܡܗ 2 a ܘܥܕܡܘ 3 suppl. ed. 4 a ܒܥܐ
5 in margin of a: ثان رويس

had not yet reached the point of entering the village but was seated outside it* - he came straight in to the house of that woman and requested a thurible* and incense. The disciples and the woman thought that he wanted the thurible for the burial of the child.* But he knelt down over the body of the dead (child) and burned incense* in the thurible and prayed with groaning and plentiful tears until the floor was wet (with them):* and God heard the voice of his heart-rending plea - He that does the will* of those that fear Him - and when (the saint) had prolonged his prayer for a great space of time, the spirit of the child* stirred in his limbs and be began to move from side to side. As soon as the saint* realised that his prayer had been heard and that the child was alive, he grasped him by the hand* and raised him to his feet. Then he called the mother of the deceased and said to her, "This* son of yours was not dead, but only asleep. Now he has awoken from* his slumber. Come and take him and suckle him with milk." He said* <that> he was asleep, in order that he might not be praised by men. As for the woman, she was* shaking with fear but she found voice to say to the saint, "I beg you Father* Bishop: [this] child has not yet received the sign of baptism. Now,* therefore, of your kindness towards me, put this finishing touch to the child and give him his part in spiritual birth!"* Mor Gabriel granted her plea and baptized him, giving him the name* Gabriel; and Mor Gabriel's disciple - Theodore was his name - told us* that the child who was resurrected lived a long time and took* a wife and had children.

11. Mt 9:24

1 a ܘܥܕܡܗ 2 a ܘܥܕܢܗ 3 suppl. ed. 4 a ܐܝܟ
5 in margin of a: ثاذوس

18) Our Father Mor Gabriel was present in a certain village, where he lodged in the church,* when a young man died there in the middle of the night. His parents were well-known.* In the morning the Blessed One arose, as was his custom, to start on his way and he heard the sound of wailing* and bitter weeping; he was deeply saddened by it. Then [the relatives][a] of the dead man came and asked* his permission to bring [the] deceased, for him to say[b] over him the burial prayer, after which* they would bury him. He told them to bring him and they brought the dead man* to him. He wept over his body, and prayed over his corpse, and shed abundant tears.* Those who were standing there thought that he was saying the prayer for the dead* over him. But he was asking his Lord that the soul might return to its body.* When he had finished his prayer, the young man opened his eyes* and spoke to the crowds. Everyone was amazed at that miracle and from that day* until this they have called that young man's village 'Olin', which means 'they weep'* and 'are in mourning'. The young man came and attached himself as a disciple to the saint and ministered to him* for the rest of his life. He became a perfect monk.*

19) Next, since the faithful desire* and yearn to hear of (all) the admirable manifestations of divine power that this true architect performed, it is only right to tell them of this miracle.* Mor Gabriel, the victor in virtue, sent craftsmen* skilled in working stone; they went to a certain village which* the local inhabitants call Beth Debeh. (There) they quarried in the bedrock and extracted a huge block of stone,

a) "o[wners]".
b) "to place".

17f. *cf. INSCR.* A.8

18) الطيب هو أحد من حنانيا حضنه/ سرا وجد أحدا في
وحده. وحضره ولدا مات له ليلا. حد أنقاض بيته/ وحدا
وزفوا جميع أهله أسر خبره وبنوا حاوله. وصبيحة الليلة/
وجه أبينا سريعا. وحضنه كما عهد. ولما [سمع] بكاء ولدا/ وحده
بكى وحضنه [كثير] حسرا وصلى عليه/ وطلب أن يدفنوه. وقال
لهم أن يأتوا بالميت. فأتوا بالميت. وبكى عليه وصلى/ عليه
وطلب من الله أن يرد روح الميت إلى جسده. وبينما/ هو يصلي
ويطلب من الله أن يرد روح الميت إلى جسده. رأى/ الغلام
أنه يصلي على الميت. وكان يسأل الله أن يرد/ روح الميت إلى
جسده. فلما فرغ من صلاته. قام الغلام/ وفتح عينيه وكلم
الجمع. فتعجبوا جميعهم من هذه الآية. ومن/ يومئذ سمي
قريته عولين. وهو تفسيره يبكون. وهو/ يبكون. وجاء الغلام
وتلمذ للقديس. وخدمه طول حياته. وصار/ راهبا كاملا.

19) ثم إن أبينا لما رأى أن المؤمنين يحبون [أن] يسمعوا/
عن عجائب الله التي عملها هذا الصانع/ الحاذق. وجب أن
نوسم عن هذه الآية التي عملها. فإن/ القديس مار جبرائيل
المنتصر بالفضائل. أرسل رجالا/ صناعا في قطع الحجارة.
حتى أتوا إلى موضع يسمى/ بيت دبه. وهناك قطعوا صخرة

1 a بكى ; BP بعد (حذف) 2 a صلى/ صلوا
3 MSS. بحر 4 *in margin of* a: الذين 5 BP صخرة

which they proceeded to shape with iron claws[a]. The finished object was ready at the end of seven years.* It is a white block of the stone called *siwiomo* and it is smooth and beautiful* like a block of marble. On it is kneaded all the dough of the abbey.* Its length is fifteen spans, its width seven, its height,* that is, its thickness three spans. It was placed on an ox-wagon* and it was brought from a distance of four miles[b] from the abbey. God endowed those [oxen] with mighty strength;* and they hauled it and brought it to the abbey. But when it reached* the bottom of the rise near the abbey - for this abbey is built on the top of a hill* - the teams of oxen faltered and were unable to pull it any further because of its great weight.* Thus it came about that all the monks and the brotherhood were obliged to go and help* on the slope (up to) the abbey. The blessed Mor Gabriel made a solemn pronouncement with the Word* of God, saying: "None of the monks neither old nor young, has the right* to stay in the abbey, but they shall (all) go out to the place where the stone is." So when they had finished* morning prayer, all the brothers went out together. And it came about because the Bishop's solemn adjuration* made no distinction between the living and the dead, that there went out in the spirit* all those (entombed) in the House of Saints of the abbey; but the brothers could not see them.* Then the Blessed One came face to face with a company [of those saints]; and he began* to ask them, "Where are you from, my brothers?" They replied,* "Let it be known to you, O good shepherd, that you made a solemn pronouncement with the Word of God* that all the monks that are in this abbey should go out to the stone.

a) "combs"; see note on LIX.13.
b) *i.e.* four hours' journey, the actual distance from Badibbe to Qartmin.

11-12. Hebr. 4:12

1 a حصحص 2 MSS. ٨٨٤ 3 *i.e.* وكما حصحصا 4 *suppl. ed.* 5 MSS. جنم 6 a حجم 7 a ٨٨٤٥

(Consequently) all those who were asleep in the House of Saints woke up and have come to help the brothers." Then he bared* his head and fell down on the ground before them. As for the brothers, they were surprised when he knelt down* before the saints; for they were unaware of the cause of this action. The saint* was speaking to them through his tears, "Forgive me, O my Fathers and my masters, for I have done wrong!"* While he was still begging and entreating (them), there came a certain madman* who had been chained up with the fetters that are(a) in the House of Saints; when those just ones had left* their biers this madman had been healed of his illness and they had freed him from the chain* [and he had come] with them to the stone. [But when] the monks saw him they began to scold him,* saying, "Who freed you from the chain?" He replied calmly with perfect clarity of mind,* "See, those monks, who came out of the place where I was chained up,* freed me from my bonds and I came with them. But look, they are standing amongst you!"* Then the monks understood the cause of the kneeling of God's Bishop, namely, that he was paying respect to those saints.* Then at his request they went back again to their place; and by the power of God* and with the help of the prayers of the saints, the stone was brought into the abbey and was placed* in the great dome which is next to the kitchens. That same day* the teams of oxen which had hauled the waggon died and were buried right under* the stone. Then they set the stone in its place - and what an admirable sight it is!* This dome in which the stone is placed is constructed on and supported by [eight]* arches. Its height is twenty-five cubits, its breadth* twenty-five and its length twenty-five, and it is round.

a) Or: were.

1 a ܕܚܙ̈ܝ 2 a ܗܒ 3 originally perhaps: ܐܠܨ (homophone)
4 2P ܡܩܕ (×3)

These and many other such things they used to relate concerning the triumphant Mor* Gabriel; but to prolong this narrative would make weary the ears* of the audience, so I have cut short my account of the miracles he performed.*

20) The Blessed One was seated with the brothers, when there appeared before him a certain* solitary, whose habit marked him out as a mourner.(a) He asked the saint* if he might be received into this abbey and settle here. He urged his plea with great persuasion,* saying, "I beg you, Father, receive me as one of your number!" But the saint* interrogated him about his schooling in the monastic life(b). "See, brother," he said to him,* "whether you be not bound by some other allegiance or whether you be not under an interdiction!" [The] mourner, however,* when he saw how closely he was [questioned] by Bishop Mor* Gabriel, was afraid to confess that he had not yet been released, lest he might not be received* into the brotherhood. For there were many from all parts who desired greatly* to belong to that spiritual harmony. So that mourner declared in the presence of all:* "I have been released from the monastery in which I had my schooling: I asked forgiveness of my brothers*, and so came here." (He said this) although (in fact) he had not been released, but had been placed under an interdiction* by his abbot. So they received him and he entered the abbey under obedience to them.*

But a few days later - God having resolved to expose his deceit - a serious illness overcame him* and he became so sickly that he was unable to speak. He lay there in agony,* on the border between life and death. Now it was the custom in this abbey, [whenever]

a) See p. 85f.
b) "his discipleship".

4f. *cf. LL.Eastern Saints*, ch. 18

1 MSS. ومع 2 a add. ⟨ⲙⲁⲣⲉ⟩, i.e. deleted

someone sickened in it (to such an extent that) he was racked with terrible pain, to bring* the Gospel-Book and [to burn] incense in a thurible and (so) to purify him of* all his transgressions; and as soon as this was done, the sick man would find release, whether he lived* or died. But as for this wretched (monk) - that the Scripture might be demonstrated in action, which says* that "Everything which you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, *etc.*"* -: as soon as they saw that the sick man had passed into a phase of extreme pain, the monks came* to him and offered prayers and petitions for him with incense for his absolution,* but there was no release, no respite from that cruel pain.

Then they stood* around him weeping, both distressed and amazed at the anguish of that soul* and its dreadful parting from the body. They wrung their hands and prayed with heartfelt groans* to God. For seven days both day and night they fasted, but neither their prayer* nor their tears were accepted(a), and everyone said, "Woe is me!"* On the [tenth] day (*sic*) all the venerable elders got together* and went to the blessed Mor Gabriel and entreated him to go and bring* deliverance to the soul of that sick man. He arose and went in with them to his bedside;* and when he saw his torment he sobbed and let fall tears. The elders, too, wept, that stood* with him in the courtyard; for Mor Gabriel had chosen one hundred and fifty of them* to make intercession with him to God. Then he stood over the bed and said,* "What I should do for you, O sick man, I do not know. I would ask you about the sin* for which you are now tormented, were it not that

the power of speech has been taken from you.

a) "neither was their prayer accepted nor were their tears heard".

5. Mt 16:19, 18:18

1 a محجب 2 cf. BP and LL.Eastern Saints, p.[263] (the lexical supplement ـــــل would have left a trace on the undamaged part of a)

Nor is it possible for you to return to this life." So he knelt down and shed tears* and prayed with moaning to God; and when he had finished his prayer he said to the elders and brothers,* "See now, my brothers, how bad, how bitter, how cruel is the anguish of this* soul, (and all) because it is under an interdiction!" No sooner had he spoken the words* 'under an interdiction' than the sick man appeared to be woken from his coma and, startled,* to say, "Yes, Father, so it is! I am indeed bound by the Word of God". All the elders heard,* and yet(a) his eyes were sealed and his hands and feet* were dry and not a limb in his body stirred; for(b) he was already* dead. (Nevertheless) it had been revealed to Bishop Mor Gabriel that his soul was held back by the Word of God.*

Then he turned and spoke to the gathering, and said, "Come, then, let us find(c) a man* for whom we may all vouch, and let us send a petition to the abbot of (this poor monk). Perhaps* God will then accept our prayer(d) and release this soul from this torment."* So they chose(e) a chaste and [venerable] old man whose name was Addai, and he came and knelt [on* the ground in front of the sick man and said, "If it be the Will of God, I will take upon myself* the interdiction of this soul, for which our Father Mor Gabriel and all* my Fathers will be surety." These words were hardly out of the mouth of Addai the elder before the soul* of the sick man departed from his body, at which everyone gave glory to God.*

After that brother had been buried, the blessed Addai arose with haste* and went to the Monastery of Arbin, carrying a petition from our Father Mor Gabriel* and from all the monks. So he fulfilled his undertaking and it was accepted, and the abbot [1.] prayed for the* one who had died.

a) "for". b) "but". c) "see". d) "us". e) "saw".

6 and 9. Hebr. 4:12

1 a معه 2 in margin of a: اذى 3 Chr. Qartmin 812, p. 17, lines 8-12, 21-22 = Chr. 'Harran' 846, pp. 235-36: وأوحى; cf. ملحم/ملحم

One leaf is missing here in B

2. 21) These things, by the great grace of God, who made our Father
3. Bishop to triumph,* have prompted me to tell this tale of his life,
4. albeit at less length* than the subject demands. For it would
surpass the puny intelligence (of the writer) to tell of (all) his
5. amazing deeds;* as for those other virtues - his peacefulness(a),*
6. his gentleness, his cheerfulness, his goodness, his diligence, his
7. quietness,* his innocence, his combativeness, his abstinence, his
8. chastity, his holiness,* his purity - I refrain from speaking;
9. indeed, I cannot encompass his exalted and ineffable virtues.* For
10. what I have set down as a memorial to that triumphant* Apostle and
Chosen One of God Mor Gabriel, I have written - albeit far too
11. little* - in order that we may emulate his life and be rescued by
12. his pure prayers* to God.

13. 22) When he was an old man he received this revelation from God
14. in a dream* of the night: "Your departure from this world is
15. nigh". From that moment he began* (to edify) the spiritual
16. sheep(b) of his pasture with words of advice. He wrote* statutes
and ordinances and cautions for the monks with many observances,
17. which are not written* in this story, lest by reason of its length
the sweet taste of it be lost.*

18. When, therefore, he sickened with his final illness, the whole
brotherhood of the abbey assembled,

a) "about the remainder of his peacefulness".
b) *cf.* Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, *s.v. logikos* C.2.a.

(21) ... B111a1 ... P57 ... 5 ... 10 ... 15 ... B111a2 ... a91a ...

1 B ... 2 B ... 3 B ... 4 BP ...

and he stretched out his right hand and blessed them and entrusted them to the Chief Shepherd Jesus* Christ. At the moment he gave up the ghost, there fell[(a)] a pleasant sweet-smelling dew,* which was sprinkled, spreading its scent around, throughout the abbey; and (this scent) lingered for a great many years.* Also, a voice came from heaven, which sang out three times to a melodious tune:* "Welcome wakeful and conscientious shepherd! Welcome triumphant victor! Come,* enter into the joy of your Lord!" All the brothers heard this Voice.* Then the soul of the Chosen One of God departed towards the Repository[(b)] of Divine Favours. They offered prayers over his holy body* for seven days and seven nights, neither eating any bread, nor drinking any water,* nor taking any sleep.

All the diocese was foregathered for the burial* of the saint, from the great river Tigris to the river of the Gozarto d-Shuʿo* which is the river Ḥarbo,[(4)] all this region of Ṭur ʿAbdin,* two hundred and forty-three villages in all. There was an enquiry and a count was made of the people* who came to the burial of our Father Mor Gabriel and their number was four thousand five hundred* and thirty-four. There came also ten bishops: Iwannis of Amida,* Ignatius of Mayperqaṭ, Gregory of Arzon, Basil* of Jazira, Polycarp of the region of Beth ʿAraboye, Dioscorus* of Singara and of Ḥaburo, Epiphanius of Nisibis, Sisinnius* of Dara, John of Kfartutho, Jacob of Sawro.

The day of his coronation,* by which is meant the day of his death, was a Tuesday, the twenty-third of December,* at the third daylight hour. The year was nine hundred and seventy-nine (A.D.667),*

a) "the air sprinkled".
b) "barn".

in which the round House of Tombs of the House of Saints of this abbey was cleaned out* and there were found in it eight hundred skulls.*

23) The sum of the years of the life of Mor Gabriel was seventy-four.* When he was fifteen he became a disciple under the yoke of the monastic life.* At twenty he became a deacon. At thirty-nine* he was made Head of the Brothers. At forty-five he became a priest, or* presbyter. At sixty he was ordained bishop and he sat on* the episcopal throne for fourteen years and seven months and twenty-* three days. He has two other feasts (apart from the commemoration of his death): one* on New Sunday(a) and the third on the thirty-first of August, the month* of vines, because on that day they cut off his right hand because of* an epidemic of *shar^{e}uto*(b). The latter is the feast for the singing of his merits.*

24) Then, when (this) great crowd was assembled, they prepared him for burial with honour and ceremony* and on the eighth day they buried him in the House of Saints and they celebrated* the Eucharist in order that the people might communicate, because they were debilitated by hunger and thirst.* But when the congregation went up to receive communion, at the moment when they were (most urgently) crowding* and jostling one another, a certain lad fell down beneath them and was trampled by the people and died. He was the son of distinguished and prominent people* and about twenty years of age.

a) *i.e.* Low Sunday.
b) *cf.* XC, note a.

4. Mt 11:29-30 10-12. *Cal.TA*, Aug.31

1 MSS. البعول 2 a معجلاه 3 AP الحبجب
4 AP سجر؟ 5 a لخبر ; BP لحبر (لحسما)

The priests returned the sacrament to the sanctuary and there arose a great wail of lamentation.* Then those ten bishops came with those eight hundred monks* and the secular priests and they took away the dead lad and placed him on the bier of that victor* in virtue Mor Gabriel. Then everyone knelt in prayer* as supplicants - and not a sound was to be heard. Then they went back and fetched out again the Bread* of the Sacrifice and the Blood in the chalice and placed (them) on the bier of Mor Gabriel.* The whole congregation were distributed in their several rows and groupings(a), each one according to his rank* and position, weeping and praying and supplicating God on behalf of the deceased; and they called* the triumphant Mor Gabriel to their help. Then at God's command* the lad leapt up - and there was not even a bruise on him. Everyone was seized with great amazement* and glorified God; they were filled with joy and gladness. Now since the resurrected lad was a deacon* they put on his (fore-)arms the sacramental paten and a priest administered to the whole* congregation the Body and Blood of Christ.

25) This lad was Mor Simeon of the Olives, the son of a certain distinguished notable* whose name was Mundar, of the village of Habsenus, which is the region of Ṭur ʿAbdin.* (Simeon) began his schooling (as a monk) in this abbey and thirty-two* years later(b) he became Bishop of the city of Ḥarran. That was in the year one thousand* and eleven (A.D.699/700). In the year one thousand and eighteen (A.D.706/7), in which the synod met* at the abbey of Mor Shilo and Mor Jacob the Commentator became Bishop of Edessa.

a) "rows, rows and groups, groups"
b) i.e. after the (supposed) date of the death of Mor Gabriel.

14f. *Cal.TA*, Jun.3; *Chr.Qartmin 819*, A.G.1011; *Chr.'Ḥarran' 846*, A.G.1018

1 a معهد 2 a ابيه 3 a مخب 4 *in margin of* a: مار شمعان 5 a لقا ; BP اما 6 a ابحا 7 *in margin of* a: حرّان

In this year also Mor Simeon of the Olives built the church of Mor Theodore* in Nisibis within the east gate. He also built a mosque to the South* of the church for the Muslims[a] to pray in. The church was consecrated by Julian, the Patriarch* of the Orthodox. There is much that could be said about this Mor Simeon* of the Olives, but let us not mix one tale with another!

So the people that had come to the burial* of our Father Mor Gabriel went to their homes praising God,* to whom be glory from the mouth of us all for ever and ever, Amen!

26) My beloved, I adjure you in the name of the God whom all* creatures, rational and unperceiving, fear, to pray for charity's sake and to say: "May God pardon* the man who laboured over this (account of Mor Gabriel's) Triumph, who collected, brought and wrote it down! May Christ* in his mercy forgive him all the sins he committed, whether voluntarily* or involuntarily, knowingly or in ignorance!" And may God have mercy on everyone who reads this story* or copies it, in both worlds* for ever!*

27) Furthermore after the death of the triumphant Mor Gabriel,* this abbey was gripped by an epidemic of *shar^{c}uto*[b], which is a disease which attacks the throat. In one* night thirty monks died and they were seized with a great terror. They all arose* and went to the House of Saints and took up the body of the holy

a) "the Tayoye".
b) Sometimes translated, with uncertain authority, as 'cholera'.

1-3. *cf. L.Simeon of Olives*

Mor Gabriel from its place. They then brought it into the Great Temple* and stood it up against the north chanting-stand(a), as is correct for bishops,* supported on his staff. The hair of his body and his flesh and his beard* were perfectly preserved, although it was about one hundred and thirty years since he had fallen asleep.* Then the brothers prayed and kept vigil all that night; and Mor Gabriel was truly* keeping vigil with them in the spirit. When the day dawned the whole brotherhood filed past* and gave him peace and were blessed by him. From that moment* the fatal contagion was checked and no more of them died of this* disease. As for those who were already affected by it, they recovered.

28) Straight away they all took counsel with a view to taking one of his limbs* and putting it in a reliquary; but they were trembling with fear at this and did not* dare to use violence against him. But one of them, who was an audacious man - perhaps he despised* death - arose and cut off the saint's right hand. That same day he received* his death sentence. Then they took the body of Mor Gabriel* back to its place and put it in a bronze coffin together with the Apostles.*

Now we ask that same Christ to pour out his abundant blessing and pity upon the reader* and upon the scribe and upon those who listen and upon all children of the Holy Church,* through the prayers of the God-bearer Mary and of the twelve thousand* Saints who have been ritually entombed in this abbey, and of the eight hundred triumphant

---

a) "choir", and so of the book-stands on either side of a Syriac church, around which the choirs group to chant antiphonally.

1. Egyptians who came to it and in it ended their lives' struggle,
2. and <of> Mor* Samuel and <of> Mor Simeon and of our Father the
3. all-blessed victor* in virtue Mor [Gabriel and of all the
4. (year's) cycle of saints in perpetuity.* Amen.*

END OF THE STORY

OF THE HOLY MOR GABRIEL

OF BETH QUSTAN, BISHOP OF THE ABBEY

OF QARTMIN IN THE REGION OF TUR ᶜABDIN

HIS PRAYER BE WITH US!

AMEN.

B113a²

Here a breaks off.

1 om. BP 2 suppl. ed. (x 2) 3 in lower margin of A, on fol.82b: ومار شموايل ومار شيعان ومار غبرايل .. Note and epigram added by editor.

C. INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES CITED OR PARAPHRASED

The Torah
Exodus (3:5) I
Deuteronomy (27:26?) LIII.13-14; (32:5 and 32:20) XXVI
The Prophets
I Samuel (1-2) VII
Nehemiah (1:8) XXV
Psalms (1:2) LVI; (34:7) XLIX; (36:8) LXXV; (37:19, 28) XLIX; (44:11, 13) XXV; (44:14) XLIV; (69:9?) X; (79:1, 4) XXV; (86:15) XIX; (91:9?) XIX; (110:1) XIII; (116:15) XLIX; (119:115) II; (125:1) XXV; (138:7?) XIX
The Song of Songs (1:4, 15) XXVI; (4:1, 7) XXVI
Isaiah (1:4) XXVI; (18:6) XLIV; (29:13) XXVI; (33:20) XXV
Jeremiah (6:15) XLIV; (7:28) XXVI; (8:12) XLIV; (12:7) XXV
Ezekiel (5:10?) XXVI; (33:31) XXVI; (36:27) II; (40-42) XVIII
Micah (7:6) XXVI
Haggai (2:9/10) XIX
Zechariah (2:1-5) XIX

The Apocrypha
I Maccabees (1:1) XX

The Gospels
Matthew (6:10) XLV, LXIX; (7:15) XLIV; (7:21) XLIII-XLIV; (8:32) XXX; (9:24) LXXIX; (10:38) LXV; (11:29-30) II, LV, LVIII, LXIV; (12:39) XXVI; (13:44) XXXVII; (15:8) XXVI; (16:18) XVIII; (16:19) LXXXIV; (16:24) LXV; (18:18) LXXXIV; (25:12) XXVI; (25:23) L; (25:35f) LXXVI
Mark (1:24) XXX; (8:34) LXV
Luke (4:1) II; (5:8) II; (9:23) LXV; (14:13) LXXVI; (14:27) LXV
John (8:11) XXXIX; (10) XLVIII; (12:3) XIII, XLIX; (14:15) II; (17:14f) II; (21:25) XLVII
The Acts of the Apostles (6:15) XXXVI; (9:15) LXV
The Epistles
Romans (8:5) II; (8:22) L
II Corinthians (11:10) IX
Galatians (3:27) LIX; (5:18) II
Ephesians (6:14) LV
Philippians (2:15) XXVI; (4:3) XLIII
I Thessalonians (5:18) LVII
Hebrews (4:12) XXXVIII, LXXVI; (11:33, 36) XXIV; (11:38) I, XIX, XXIV; (12:4) LXVI
The Revelation of Saint John (1:16) XXIV; (11:1-2) XVIII; (21:27) II, XLIII

ἀγρός	XIX.5,XXIII.12,XXXVII,10, LXXVIII.2
ἀγωγός	XXVII.4
ἀγών	II.6 and in thirteen other places
ἀήρ	L.10,LXXXVII.2
ἀθλητής	XXXII.11
αἱρετικός	XLIII.5
ἄσημον	IV.17,LIX.12,LX.11,18,LXI.1
βάρβαρος	III.14,16
βήρυλλος	XIII.10
γένος	V.14,XXIX.2,XXXII.3,LII.7,LXI.9,LXVII.1
γλωσσόκομον	XI.9,XCI.11
ἐκκλησιαστική	III.5
ἐξέρκετον	VIII.14
ἐξορία	XXII.16
ἐπίσκοπος	VIII.11 and in thirty-one other places
εὐαγγέλιον	XVIII.3,XXXVI.7,9,XLV.14,LXXXIV.2
εὐχαριστία	XXX.12,LXXXVIII.15
ζεῦγος	LXXXI.9,LXXXII.16
θρόνος	LX.3,8
ἰδιώτης	V.6,XXXIV.1
καῖσαρ	XX.18
κάλαθος	XVI.3,6,10,11,15
καλός	XL.15,XLVII.17,LI.14,LXXIX.13,LXXXVIII.12
κανδήλη	LX.10
κανών	LXXII.10,LXXII.9,15,LXXXVI.16
κάστρον	LXIV.13
κελλίον/κέλλα	XXII.10,XXV.12,XXVII.7,XXXVII.9,XLI.10,LVI.8,LXVII.10
κεντηνάριον	IV.2
κηρίων	XLV.14
κιβωτός	XCI.15
κίνδυνος	LXVIII.5
κοινόν?	LVI.6
κοιτών	XXVI.17
κύβος	LX.14
κύριε ἐλέησον	LXXV.14
λαμπάς	XXXVI.16,LX.20
λιμήν	XXXII.11
μᾶλλον	VI.3,XXVI.14
μανσίων	VII.17
μητροπολίτης	LIX.4
μίλιον	XLII.6,LI.5,LXXVIII.5,LXXXI.6
μοχλός	XVIII.4
μύρον	XI.3

νόμος	XLVIII.11,LVI.18,LXXII.10,17,LXIII.3,6,LXXXVI.16
ξένος	LXXIV.4,7,11
ὄργανον	XV.14,XXXV.12
ὀρθόδοξος	II.18,LXI.19
οὐαί	LXXXIV.12
παλάτιον	XXXI.14
πατριάρχης	XI.8 and in ten other places
πείθω/πείσις	LIII.1 and in twelve other places
πίναξ	XIII.11
πισκινή	XXI.7,XXVI.19
πόρος	IV.19,XXI.19,LV.15,LXXVII.3,LXXVIII.19 (etc.)
πρόσωπον	XVII.16,XIV.3,XXXIV.11,14,XXXV.12,XXXVII.15,XXXIX.3
πύρωμα	VI.2 and in eleven other places
σάκρα	XXVIII.19
σάνδαλον	XXIII.14
σειρά	LXVIII.10
σινδών	XXXVII.19,20
σπυρίς	XVI.4
στοά	LVI.8,LXI.3
στολή	XIII.9,LIX.1
σουδάριον	LXX.19
σύνοδος	LI.11,LIV.5,LXI.19,LXXXIX.18
σχῆμα	XIX.13 and in nine other places
τάγμα	L.15
τάξις	V.13,19,VI.9,XVIII.11,XLVIII.18,LVII.3,LXV.15,XCI.2,19
ταραχή	XLIV.9
ταῦρος	LX.6
τιμή	XXII.20
τύπος	LVII.6
τύραννος	XLIV.8
ὕλη	II.5
φανός	LX.17
φιάλη	LXXXIX.12
χειμών	LXIII.6
χειροτονία	XI.5
χιτών	LXVI.9
χριστιανός	III.9,17,LIX.2,LXXII.11
χρυσόστομος	XXII.16
ψάλτης	XXIII.9
ὦ	XIII.18 and in seventeen other places

The MS published here was commissioned from the scribe Kenᶜān, the son of Denḥō and Šᵉmūnī, of Fōfyāṭ (Kafarbē), also called Kenan Budak. He completed it on 31st October, 1986, in the little cell above the church of Mōr Ṣṭefanos, which he occupied as the last Christian teacher in his village. It was a sad irony for him to copy reports of the vitality and community-spirit which had kept the village of Bēṭ Sʏrīnā Christian throughout long centuries of Muslim rule, at the very time when his own position became untenable because of the flight of Christian families from Kafarbē. His fee for copying out this MS was paid by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn, as a supplement to my own research-grant; he used the money to emigrate. He is now a candidate for refugee-status at Bebra in West Germany, where his fate and that of his family is still undecided. He is one of the dedicatees of this book. I hope that the *Book of Life* itself will be a reminder to European readers that the Old-Syrians are among us now and an inspiration to the clergy and the laymen of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the Middle East and in Europe in their search for more effective means of social cohesion and for a new definition of group-identity. I take this opportunity to thank Bishop Philoxenos Yusuf Çetin of Istanbul for collecting the MS from Kafarbē and bringing it to Istanbul, where my colleague, Hero Hokwerda, received it in trust for me in 1988, paying what remained of the scribe's fee to the Bishop in trust for Kenᶜān.

The MS from which Kenᶜān copied belongs to Qartmīn Abbey. It was penned by George of Kafarzē, priest of Mōrbōbō, in 1959. Its page-numbers are noted here in the margin of the text. They are called "fol." and numbered in roman numerals to distinguish them from the page-numbers. *Monk and Mason*, which was completed before I received Kenᶜān's MS, uses "p." and arabic numerals for the pages of the Qartmīn MS; simply convert e.g. "p. 6" to "fol. VI" to find the correct reference. Kenᶜān copied everything in the Qartmīn MS, except reports entered after 1959 (such as that quoted in *Monk and Mason*, p. 131 n. 117). He copied at the end a list of the bishops of Midyāt, based on the "History" by Mōr Severus Ephrem, metropolitan of Syria and the Lebanon. This "History", which is dated to 1924, and its author seem to be unknown to Barṣawm (1943) and to Macuch (1976). The bishop-list is continued up to the present incumbent, Mōr Timothy Samuel Aktaš, who is praised for his efforts to prevent the emigration of Christians from Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn. It is not clear whether the Qartmīn MS contains this list of bishops. Kenᶜān's note, saying that this MS was copied from that of George in the library of Qartmīn Abbey, follows directly on the list; yet after the beginning of the list, no more "folio"-numbers are noted in the margin. Moreover, the list follows the colophon of George himself. Probably the list was compiled in the Qartmīn MS after its completion, on blank folia at the end which were left unnumbered.

George used a lost pencil-written copy made by Bishop Īwānīs Ephrem Bilgiç, of Bōṭē. This bishop had transcribed the text from a MS in the Patriarchate at Ḥomṣ in 1957. From the Preface of our text, translated under E.5., below, we learn that this MS had 74 pages (ptōḥīn) and had "belonged to" (ɪṯawhy hwo l-) the village of Bēṭ Sʏrīnā, before entering the patriarchal library. Bishop Īwānīs did not see or could not find a

date of compilation. He did, however, notice that "some of the inner pages were lost here and there" (see E.5: Preface with No. 51).

The MS which is in the patriarchal library, according to the catalogue in Behnām (1959, p. 147), has the shelf-mark 5/59, *i.e.* it is classified as a liturgical book. It was proper to Basibrīnā (Bēṭ Sʏrīnā); of dimensions 18 x 25 cm; "written" (katabahū) in AG 1331 = AD 1019/20 by the priested monk Solomon of Bēṭ Sʏrīnā (cf. E.5, No. 1); renovated in AG 1480 = AD 1168/9 (cf. No. 4); not in order as to folia; and brought from Midyāt.

Barṣawm (1943, p. 95; Syriac, pp. 132-3) says that the MS of the *Book of Life* in the patriarchal library was copied from a short MS in Mossul dated 1925. This probably refers to the MS just described, the eleventh-century "writer" being distinguished from the twentieth-century scribe. For in a cumulative record brevity is consistent with an earlier date of redaction. Barṣawm also relates that he saw a MS of the *Book of Life* in 1909 at Bēṭ Sʏrīnā, which was written "for the monastery of Qartmīn" in 1499 and that it had 140 pages and contained passages of historical interest up to the mid-eighteenth century. Neither this nor the Qartmīn MS could be described as brief.

Pognon (1907, p. 49) saw a related MS in Midyāt in 1905. It belonged to "the monastery of Bēṭ Sʏrīnā", but he considered it a copy of one of the registers which used to be kept in the archives of Qartmīn Abbey. It was in very bad condition. The contents included some reports on Qartmīn Abbey and, above all, a large number of lists of priests and monks of varying date, and of women and men who had helped or enriched the monastery. One of the reports was that translated as No. 2 under E.5., below. Pognon quotes and translates a part of it, leaving three words in doubt, because of the poor condition of the MS.

Barṣawm (1964, p. 11) describes one of his sources as "the *Book of Life* of the monastery of Qartmīn, which goes up to AD 1496 and contains many names of bishops and priests and well-known monks of the Mountain (*sc.* Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn) with the years of their deaths and certain historical narratives". He adds that it was presented to the patriarchal library by Chorepiscopus Nuᶜman of Kafarze. This is presumably Nuᶜman Aydin, whose portrait appears in the same book with the date 1949. On pp. 91-6 of the same book are published extracts from the *Book of Life* corresponding to Nos. 2 (pp. 91-2), 1 (pp. 92-3), 5 (pp. 93-4), 8 (pp. 94-5), 32 and 33 (p. 96), as translated below. The passage corresponding to the extract at the bottom of p. 95 is not translated here. On pp. 120-3 Barṣawm quotes a passage corresponding to No. 3 below; but the entries below it on pp. 123 and 124 do not occur in our text.

Dōlabānī (1959, pp. 174-6) also quotes a text resembling our No. 3, but in paraphrase; somewhat more literal is his quotation of parts of our Nos. 4 and 17 on pp. 177-8 and of our No. 5 on pp. 180-1. On pp. 181-7 we recognize, amongst other material, traces of our Nos. 7, 8, 46, 11 and 17. The chapter on famous fifteenth-century scribes (pp. 188-93) includes material from our text, and in the next chapter (pp. 193-6) we find our Nos. 18 and 24 on Bishop George. The chapter on Rabban Stephen of Bēṭ Sʏrīnā, George's disciple and successor (pp. 197-9) contains our Nos. 33 and 32 in that order. Other material on these pages and on pp. 202-7 looks as if it comes from a similar *Book of Life*.

How many different MSS of our *Book of Life* can be distinguished? Connolly and Codrington (1913) edited from two MSS in the Lebanon (Šarfa) and in the Vatican a ten-folio *Book of Life* written in 1648 for a church in Aleppo. This text commemorates the heroes of the *Qartmin Trilogy* and Simeon of the Olives, saints especially honoured in Ṭur ᶜAbdīn. Nevertheless it is related neither to our text nor to Damascus 5/59. Of the *Book of Life* at Barṭelli (Barṣawm 1943, p. 95; Syriac, p. 133) nothing further is known. Mingana 172 might be a copy of the *Book of Life* of Aleppo: it contains many "saints from the Old and New Testaments", but only 12 folia 23 x 16.5cm with 20 lines to a page; the (19th-century?) scribe was called ᶜAzar (fol. 12b).

Leaving these MSS aside, we can identify:

1) the Ḥomṣ MS, which is the direct ancestor of our text;
2) Damascus 5/59, copied, according to Barṣawm, from (3);
3) a short MS of 1925 in Mossul;
4) the MS which was at Bēṯ Svīrīnā in 1909;
5) the MS which Pognon saw at Midyāt in 1905;
6) the MS used by Barṣawm (1964), which came from Midyāt.

The text (part of H, No. 2) which was copied by Pognon from (5) closely resembles Barṣawm's version of the same passage as he found it in (6). It even recognizes a doubtful reading in one place which Barṣawm also marks as uncertain. The MS published here, which is derived at three removes from (1), omits from the same passage another word which Pognon could not read, although Barṣawm saw *qimele*, "treasures". These facts may indicate that (1), (5) and (6) are one and the same MS. The description of (2) does not tally with these three, especially if it was copied from (3). If, when the catalogue was made, (6) was not yet in the possession of the Patriarchate, it must have been presented to the Patriarch after the publication of Barṣawm (1943) and before 1957, when it was copied in Ḥomṣ. Barṣawm (1964) acknowledges the gift and portrays the giver as he was in the year 1949. Perhaps the photograph is contemporary with the presentation. (4), "dated 1499", must be distinguished from (6), "dated 1496" and from (1), which had about half as many pages and was intended for Bēṯ Svīrīnā. If (4) was intended, as Barṣawm says, for Qartmīn Abbey, its extra bulk may have contained material peculiar to the abbey which was excluded from the Bēṯ Svīrīnā version.

On this hypothesis the relevant passage in Barṣawm (1943) cannot have been revised for the reprints. That is not unusual. But there are two difficulties: firstly, (1) "belonged" to Bēṯ Svīrīnā, while (6) was designated, according to Barṣawm, for Qartmīn and came from Midyāt; secondly, Bishop Īwānīs Ephrem saw no date of compilation in (1), while Barṣawm tells us that (6) went "up to 1496". To this may be answered that the date seen by Barṣawm may now be lost through damage to the MS, while (1), as represented in the text published here, contains notices composed at Qartmīn Abbey as well as evidence that it was proper to Bēṯ Svīrīnā (see E.2). Pognon (1907) himself connects (5) with Qartmīn and states that it came from "the monastery of Bēṯ Svīrīnā", a confusion probably due to seeing the phrase "this monastery" (*i.e.* Qartmīn Abbey) juxtaposed to some evidence of Svirinite origin.

Let us summarize our working hypothesis: Three main versions of the *Book of Life* can be identified at this stage of research, the one which acquired its definitive form in

the eleventh century, and two others which were made in 1496 and 1499 respectively, for Bēṯ Svīrīnā and for Qartmīn Abbey. Both of these incorporated matter from the eleventh century version, while adding much from the subsequent period; the Qartmīn version was much more bulky and so may have contained more of the earlier text, which was considered superfluous for Bēṯ Svīrīnā. There seems little chance of finding the 1499 Qartmīn version, which was last recorded in Bēṯ Svīrīnā in 1909; it may have been destroyed in the war, like the *Book of Life* of Zaz, though in that case Barṣawm (1943) would probably have said so. If the the eleventh-century version can be found in MSS at Mossul and Damascus, much new light may be cast on the development of the text. The present publication is not a critical edition of the text; for that we should use the MSS from which it is derived, insofar as we can find them. It will be seen that the hypothesis of three versions fits well with the internal evidence of the text published here.

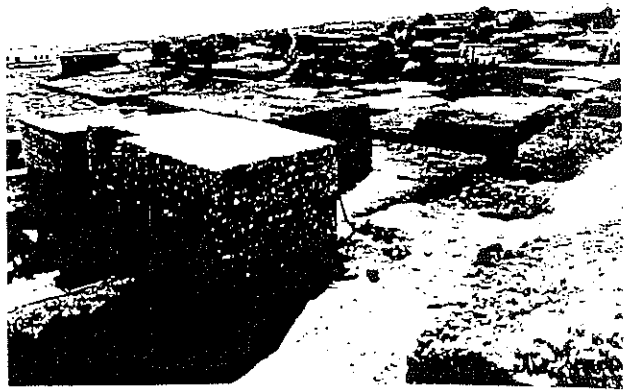


Fig. 5: THE VILLAGE OF BETH SVIRINA IN ṬUR ᶜABDIN

Our MS contains a number of clues as to the history of the text.

Of the 40 dated entries, eight are dated between 1039 and 1395, 25 between 1420 and 1502, six between 1723 and 1795, and one in 1852/3.

Of the first eight entries the third and the seventh concern Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā above all, and Qartmīn Abbey only in a lesser degree; the other six were clearly written at the abbey.

The next group, Nos. 9-33 in my translation, fall into five categories:

1. Those definitely written at the abbey (Nos. 11 and 28)
2. Those written at Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā (Nos. 9, 10, 12-15, 21, 22, 26, 27 and, probably, Nos. 30 and 31)
3. Those concerning both the abbey and Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā (Nos. 17, 18, 24, 32 and 33)
4. Those concerning bishops from the village of Arbō (Nos. 16, 19, 20 and 25)
5. Those concerning the village of Fōfyāṯ, close to the abbey on the way to Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā (Nos. 23 and 29).

We may leave the fourth and fifth categories out for the present; Arbō and Fōfyāṯ are not serious candidates for the "home" of our text. The third category cannot help to trace it to either the abbey or the village. As for the first and second categories, logic dictates one of two explanations. There was one codex, which travelled back and forth between the village and the abbey; or else there were codices at both places, which developed independently, until they were amalgamated. The latter explanation is preferable.

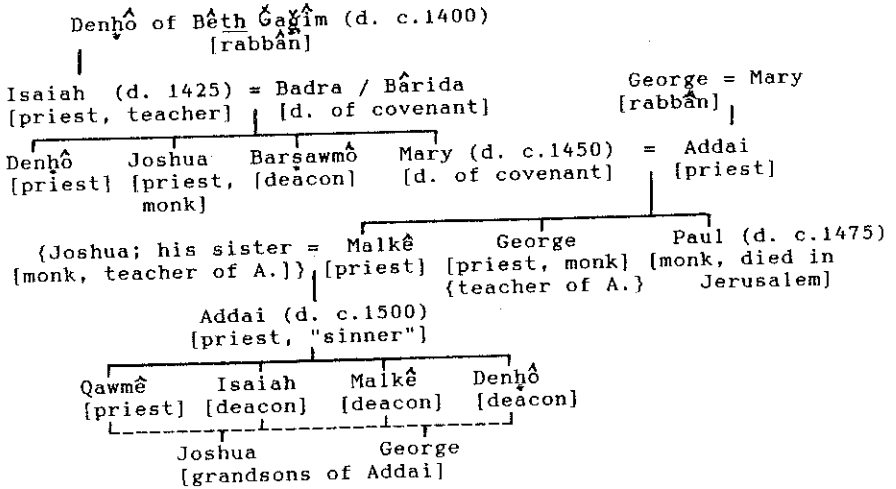
The last 7 dated entries are attributable as follows:

No. 34 Uncertain
No. 35 Qartmīn Abbey and Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā
No. 36 "Our village"
No. 37 Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā and an unnamed episcopal see
No. 38 Uncertain, perhaps Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā
No. 39 Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā
No. 40 Qartmīn Abbey

Just as Damascus 5/59 had its leaves "not in order", so our MS, too, has had a chaotic transmission; we must abandon any attempt to find traces of an analytical or a mechanical process of amalgamation, unless codicology can help.

Perhaps the only sequence in the whole MS is where Nos. 11, 16, 19, 20 and 25 occur together in that order on fol. CXXI, p. 202. These are all bishops and the last four are all from Arbo. Perhaps these are some of the bishops of the young diocese of Bēṯ Rīše, based in the monastery of Mōr Malkē near Arkaḥ, which had a strong association with that village and with Ḥvōv and Arbō (see Fiey 1982, p. 273) ? There is no overlap with the other bishops recorded by Barṣawm (1964). Barṣawm tells us that bishops continued to be consecrated for Bēṯ Rīše into the early twentieth century (Fiey 1982, p. 274). The fact that the list breaks off with a bishop who died in 1492 may therefore be significant, when we consider that two of the MS traditions have been traced to 1496 and 1499 respectively. We may have here a trace of the process of amalgamation.

The MS mentions one man to whom this editorial process might be attributed. No. 47 asks for the reader's prayers for a certain Addai, "who penned this volume of the Book of Life". This note seems to be related to No. 45, which associates a whole kin-group, including "the priest Addai", whose grandfather and probably great-grandfather were also priests and Addais, with the financing and execution of a copy of "this book full of life". Enough members of this same kin-group recur in Nos. 9, 10 (probably), 12, 13, 14, on fol. XLV, (pp. 73-4) and on foll. LXXVII-LXXVIII (pp. 126-7) to enable us to draw an extensive, highly clerical, family tree. Since twenty-five years has been shown to be the average for a generation in non-industrial societies, we may extrapolate from the date given in Nos. 12 and 13 for the death of the teacher Isaiah and date to about 1500 the death of the younger priest Addai, who identifies himself with the label "a sinner" in No. 13, and around whose person the whole family tree is constructed.



The Title of our MS, translated under H, below, shows an awareness of at least one other channel of transmission, besides that of Bēṯ Svīrīnā. The MS seen by Barṣawm in Bēṯ Svīrīnā was designated for Qartmīn Abbey. Probably Addai made two copies of the amalgamated *Book of Life*, one in 1496 for Bēṯ Svīrīnā, and one in 1499, for Qartmīn Abbey. After that the history of their transmission diverged again.

The relationship between the abbey and the village, and between both and Fōfyāṯ, the village in-between, had been a close one for many centuries. (In what follows I refer to the pages of *Monk and Mason*.) Even if we dismiss as legendary the story that Aḥsnōyō, Philoxenos of Mabbūġ, resided as a teenager in a hermit's cell near Bēṯ Svīrīnā, before going to school at Qartmīn Abbey (p. 114 n. 5), it is still evidence of a bond between the two places in the twelfth century, when the legend was written down.

The colophon of *L. Simeon of the Olives* seems to indicate that the monastery at Bēṯ Manᶜem, near Bēṯ Svīrīnā, was a dependency of the abbey in the eighth century (p. 162). An early twelfth-century inscription brings the two villages together with the abbey in the context of the succession of bishops, whereby Bēṯ Manᶜem seems to have been more important at an earlier date, then to have waned while Bēṯ Svīrīnā waxed (pp. 224-5; cf. H.2). Not only the famous calligraphic bishop, John, and his gifted nephews came from Bēṯ Svīrīnā around AD 1000 (pp. 221 and 224), but also two of the persons mentioned in H.1, were natives of that village. Indeed, as we have seen, it was Solomon of Bēṯ Svīrīnā who made the first known redaction of the *Book of Life*, and it was another Svirinite, Gabriel, who restored it in the following century (p. 161; *cf.* H.4).

Whatever may be Dolabānī's evidence (1959, pp. 166-7) for Svirinite authorship of *Chr. Qartmin 819* (*Monk and Mason*, p. 13), there can be no doubt that the MS of that chronicle was in Bēṯ Svīrīnā from 1095 onwards (*Chr. Qartmin 819*, p. 10).

Most significant is the contrast between *Book of Life* No. 3 and No. 32. In the first, dated 1166/7, the Svirinites are dependent on the abbey; in the second, dated 1501/2, the abbey is clearly dependent on the village. It may be that the two sackings of 1296 (No. 5) and 1395 (No. 8) reduced the abbey to a dependent relationship (cf. *Monk and Mason*, p. 226).

The integrity of the *Book of Life* of Qartmīn Abbey was zealously guarded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Nos. 1, 2 and 4). But the absence of a reference to the fate of this book in the accounts of the later sackings may indicate that it was by then considered less important. Connolly (1912) shows that the *Book of Life* was still read in church at the time of Moses bar Kīfō, in the ninth century, but was obsolete by the twelfth century, when Dionysius bar Ṣalībī wrote.

On the other hand, in H.17, of the mid-fifteenth century, the *Book of Life* is treated as something with a lively function, analogous to, if not synonymous with liturgical commemoration. This function is well expressed in the Prayer translated after the Preface under H, below. Elsewhere in the book a parallel is drawn between the earthly and the heavenly books of life (cf. for example, Psalm 69:28, "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous.") Incidentally, there is no

way of telling whether the Syriac sfār ḥayē should be translated "book of the living", as in the psalm, or "book of life", as in Phil. 4:3 ("my fellow labourers, whose names are in the book of life").

The *Book of Life*, as Barṣawm remarks (1943, p. 94) corresponds to the Greek "diptychs". (Fiey 1982 refers to our text as "les diptyques de Bā Sabrīnā".) *L. John of Tella*, p. 55, relates how John called for the diptychs of the cathedral in Tella and ordered that the name of the Chalcedonian Sophronius be erased from them; on p. 56 we read: "It is fitting that the names of those who have acted according to the words and the deeds which I have rehearsed in front of you should be proclaimed over the holy altars." Compare Rev. 22:19: "And if any man shall take away from the words of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life and out of the holy city."

The germ of the impulse to keep such a book can be seen in *Qartmin Trilogy*, XLII.19-XLIII.1: "May Christ not cheat you of the reward for your labour and may that which you have brought - a gift of money - be recorded in the book of life before God!" It was natural to reinforce such a pious wish with a pious and quasi-sacramental action, and to play out in the sacred theatre of the sanctuary the scenario of the Apocalypse, with the assurance that the names of one's own kin are already included in the book of the living.

Addai and his kin invested time and money in the *Book of Life*; yet they were surely not the first to show an interest in it since the time of Bar Kīfō. Dated entries become frequent from the early fifteenth century onwards - seven from Qartmīn between 1422 and 1497, twelve from Bēṯ Svīrīnā between 1420 and 1502. It looks like a revival. And the first signs of the revival coincide with the maturity of the man whom Addai took as his model, the priest and teacher Isaiah (d. 1425). Like Barṣawm, he may have seen in "this lovely book" a means of strengthening the village community and the church itself, that community's chief organ of vitality and survival. I suggest that he reintroduced its use at Bēṯ Svīrīnā and at Qartmīn Abbey in the original liturgical context; and that it continued in use there at least until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

To conclude this section: The *Book of Life* was an old institution, which went out of fashion; it seems to have been revived in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn in the fifteenth century and it is in the context of this revival that we should see Addai's work. But the revived *Book of Life* had a somewhat different function.

How was the *Book of Life* used, and what was its function in the community ? One way to answer this is to begin with the most frequently used verb in the text: ḥāsī, "to pardon, wipe out sin". No. 1, for example, ends with the following prayer: "May the Lord *pardon* (nᵉḥasē) everyone who reads in it with faith and who *prays-for-the-foregiveness-of* (likewise: nᵉḥasē) all who had a part in it, and who is benefited by it and respects it!" Here we see the grammatical expression of a belief that the performance of such rituals somehow *effects* something which, in the end, only God can actually *do* (cf. Palmer 1988, pp. 116-7).

Large tracts of the book are filled with what the Syrians call "chains" of names. A "chain" of names is best imagined as the number of names one can pronounce with one breath, including the closing words: "May the Lord pardon them, amen!" (A good example is H.8.) I was witness to something similar after a funeral service in Kafarbē in 1978. A modest banquet was laid out on the floor of the church, and we sat down then and there to eat the crushed wheat, while the priest Ephrem of Arkāḥ paced around, rattling off prayers for the dead, which ended with the Ṭūrōyō equivalent of the same closing words: Ālōhō mḥāsallē! These words were echoed thunderously, between mouthfuls, by the congregation.

The effectivity of prayers for the dead has always been a favourite subject for preaching in the Syrian Orthodox Church. Their customs make you constantly aware of their belief that they are "compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses" (Hebr. 12:1). Each individual bears a special responsibility for his own dead relatives, but the whole village prays for those who have benefitted the community by service or by benefaction. This activity reinforces the community-consciousness. What is more, the *Book of Life*, which fulfilled this function, fostered the conviction that there was an unbroken "chain" of filial, social and ecclesiastical piety, reaching back to the very origins of the Christian Church and binding modern people strongly to their roots.

The original function of the *Book of Life* is liturgical: it constituted a commemoration of the dead after the Kiss of Peace (see Connolly 1912). It corresponds to the diptychs described in chapter 3 of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchies*, on which the ninth-century Syrian Orthodox Moses bar Kīfō draws heavily in his liturgical commentary, when he explains the *Book of Life* (Connolly and Codrington 1913, pp. 41-42; cf. Bar Ṣalībī, p. 14). This variant of the commemorative aspect of the eucharist is attested from regions of Syria and Armenia (Connolly 1912). It is not to be confused with the six diaconal diptychs (three for the living and three for the dead), which are recited at the epiklēsis; although when the *Book of Life* was proclaimed, the omission of the diptychs of the dead was permitted (Connolly 1912, 1913). The *Book of Life* was only proclaimed on special occasions, and then by a priest, not a deacon. The *Book of Life* published by Connolly and Codrington (1913) contains (pp. 112-13) instructions for its own use. Properly it was read "on the right hand of the Table of Life", *i.e.* the altar, "on Sundays and on Dominical Feastdays"; but "from time to time" it was read at the entrance to the sanctuary "for the good profit and laudable emulation of the true believers". It was kept permanently on the altar, just as the onyx tablets (Ex. 28:9f)

engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel were set in the shoulders of the ephod, so that Aaron should "bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment on his heart, when he goeth into the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continuously" (Ex. 28:29). The permanent reservation and regular recitation of the *Book of Life* on the altar was a ritual directed towards God. But Ex. 28:12 speaks also of "stones of memorial unto the children of Israel", which might be read as a description of a second and subsidiary function of the tablets as a reminder to the people of the piety of their ancestors and a spur to emulation. It is this function which justifies the occasional proclamation from the entrance of the sanctuary.

Moses (followed by Bar Ṣalībī and himself following the "Areopagite") gives six reasons for reading the *Book of Life* on the altar (though in Bar Ṣalībī's time the practice had ceased, as he says, "everywhere"):

1) To remind the people of those who have died in piety;
2) To show that they are now living and not dead;
3) To associate them with the Eucharist in death as in life;
4) To show that they are always in the place where Jesus is;
5) To show that "there is a holy remembrance of them";
6) To encourage others to gain for themselves the same reward.

The *Book of Life* of Aleppo (Connolly and Codrington 1913, pp. 112-27) begins with an invocation of the Holy Trinity and a description of itself and of its purpose (one page), then sums up the life of Jesus and the foundation of the Christian Church (eight pages), then lists the names of Adam and Eve and the righteous men, prophets, priests and kings of the Old Testament (one page), then those of the Apostles, Evangelists, Seventy-Two Evangelists and Holy Women, headed by the Mother of Christ (one page), then the first three Ecumenical Councils, the Christian kings, beginning with Abgar and Constantine, the patriarchs of Antioch, the Church Fathers, the great bishops, the holy men and the martyrs, such as are recognized by the Syrian Orthodox Church (three and a half pages), and (in the last half-page), without naming individuals, the lower ecclesiastical orders "and the rest of the orthodox clergy who are from here and from every place and city and village and hamlet, of those who are of sound faith and orthodox, and especially those who are of our own right faith, the enviable Syrian Jacobites. May God pardon them all in common, and us by their prayers: Amen and Amen." Finally there is a prayer for those who have not been mentioned.

This probably gives an idea of the classic *Book of Life*, which was read out regularly and therefore had to be kept short. How the lengthier versions, with which we are here concerned, developed to include many more names, both of the dead and of the living, is indicated by Barṣawm (1943, pp. 94-5): "A few persons who betrayed the Covenant of the Faith have been expunged from the catena [. . .]. But the names of certain outstanding priests and deacons, of the best monks and nuns, and of the bringers of donations and alms are added. Often pages are left blank in it for new names to be recorded." This may be the reason why the recitation of the *Book of Life* was abandoned at some time between the ninth and the twelfth centuries: it became unmanageably long.

In some places, however, it did not become totally obsolete, although it was probably not recited aloud.

The *Book of Life of Beth Svirina*, as we have it, shows evidence that an attempt was made to incorporate most of the "classic" elements (Nos. 41-44, 49, 50). But the list of (mainly local) saints has the appearance of having been hurriedly gleaned from the shelves of a library of hagiography, with much duplication; whereas the lists of the patriarchs, maphrians and bishops are a mixture between commemoration, anathema and history. It is curious that the patriarch Ephrem, who persecuted the Syrian Orthodox in the sixth century, is commemorated (fol. VII, p. 12), while Athanasius Sandlōyō, who has two feast-days in *Cal. TA*, is anathematized; this excites the suspicion that the list of patriarchs is of alien origin. But whereas the formal elements constitute the essence of the *Book of Life* of Aleppo, our text devotes little room to them. By contrast it harbours 15,000 or so names, including not only clergy but also ordinary men, women and children. Each individual is written down separately with his or her quality; God is not asked to "pardon them all in common". The Svirinite villagers believed in the sanctity of the individual and expressed this belief in a way that would be impracticable in a big city like Aleppo.

Noteworthy is the loving detail with which the homely donations are described. The word "beautiful" is frequently employed when recording the gift of a carpet or a curtain, a book (such as the Eṣṭrangēlō Bible bought back on private initiative from the Turks), a vestment, a chalice, a bronze cauldron, a vineyard, a donkey or a mulberry tree for the new door of the church. The verb "to care" (ʕṣēf) is used to convey the message: "he provided funds"; and I have chosen to translate it in that prosaic way (cf. *Monk and Mason*, p. 203). As we have remarked, the *Book of Life* not only commemorated. It encouraged the habit of generosity to the church on the part of those who could afford it, and so softened the resentment of the poor against the rich. H.3 shows how generosity, good sense and imagination brought a village through a crisis stronger than it had been before. The same extract is a good example of how this kind of commemoration can become a sort of incidental historiography.

The *Book of Life* as published here lays a moderate emphasis on the symbolic function of the clergy; but it shows that priest and deacons and even hermits, were members of village and family units. The whole text breaths foregiveness and this smoothed village contentions. The *Book of Life* deserved its lovely name, because it helped the community to survive and prosper.

In spite of what was said in *Monk and Mason*, p. 51, there does appear to have been some contamination of the *Book of Life* by the *Qartmin Trilogy* (see Nos. 41, 43 and 44). However, there are also some startling divergences. The same Roman emperors are named (Constantine is added) and are stated to have given "holy canons and laws" to the abbey; not a word is spoken about the funding of buildings. Yet it is one of the tenets of *Monk and Mason* (Chs. 2 and 4) that this funding did occur. The explanation given by the *Book of Life* for the commemoration of these emperors at Qartmīn is unconvincing. On the other hand the characterization of Daniel ᶜŪzōyō and Abel as respectively the first resident bishop and the first stylite in the abbey seem likely to have at least the authority of a local oral tradition (No. 43 and the notes on No. 44), or liturgical commemoration.

How far back in time the practice of keeping the *Book of Life* at Qartmīn Abbey goes is uncertain. An inscription at ᶜŪrdnus perpetuates an eighth-century record originally jotted, it would seem, on the fly-leaf of a Bible (*Monk and Mason*, pp. 209-10). Damascus 12/8 (of 1055) is an example of such a Bible; it was kept in a church at Dunaysir near Mardīn, where it collected pious records in Armenian and Syriac from the hands of pilgrims, male and female, to the shrine of Mōr Barṣawmō (unpublished evidence). Qartmīn Abbey was a centre of pilgrimage. If the Bible in the church there had no more room for such records, it may have been decided to add them to the end of a *Book of Life* that originally resembled that of Aleppo. An inscription of c.1100 may preserve evidence of a lost early bishop-list from this *Book of Life*, going back to the early ninth century (see *Monk and Mason*, p. 225). If the upper date in this inscription, AD 848/9, represents the birthyear of the *Book of Life of Qartmin Abbey*, it might be related to the history of epigraphy: the two genres were almost identical in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, being devoted to commemorating the provision of infrastructure for the Faith and the death of clerics and, in second instance, the death of other pious persons and certain local events. The alternative genre of the *Book of Life* may have compensated for the temporary decline of epigraphy in the ninth century (see *Monk and Mason*, pp. 217-18).

How did the *Book of Life* develop into the repository of dated records that it later became ? This happened step by step. The first dated entry concerns the protection of the book itself. The second revolves around the fate of the book during a raid, but it also tells about general conditions in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn at that time. The third is an overgrown commemoration of public benefactors. The fourth concerns the book itself. And so we come to the fifth, which takes its cue from the second, but describes the raid above all, mentioning only incidentally the church leaders of the time, with the obligatory "May the Lord pardon them!" This is the furthest the entries would ever stray from their original purpose. By comparing Addai's entries in his Chronicles and in the *Book* one gets a good idea of how he considered the genres to differ. For the *Book* there had to be an association with a benefaction or with the faithful departed.

The historical value of the *Book of Life* does not lie in the dated entries alone; it has many invaluable anthropological insights to offer, from details like those discussed in the notes on No. 3 to the general reflections set out under E.4. Analysis of the tens of

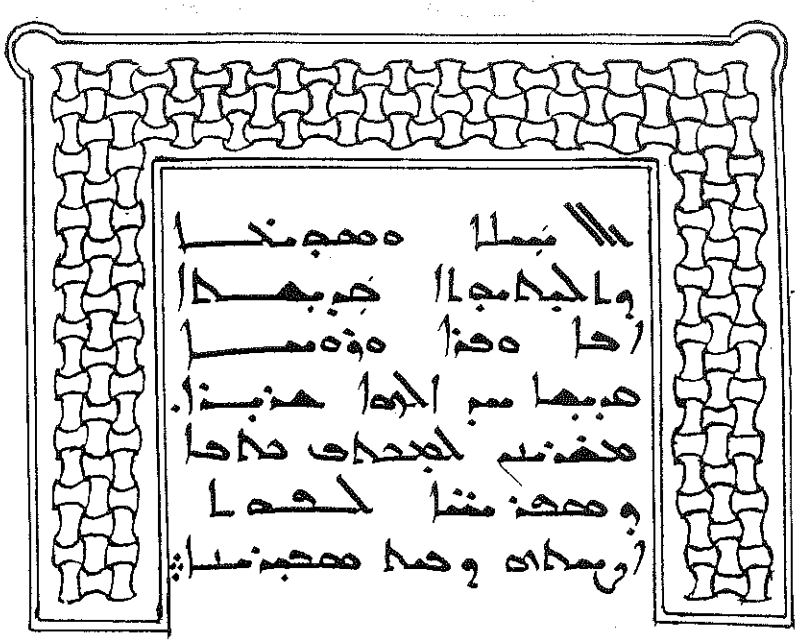
thousands of names might produce a whole kin-structure for the fifteenth century clergy of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā; the family-tree of the priest Addai is the first-fruits of such research. This is a project that might benefit from the advances in computer-science.

The names in themselves are interesting, as can be seen from the first attempt at an analysis under G, below. The place-names are precious, especially since they are often vocalised and provided with the appropriate adjective in various orthographic guises. There are, for instance, a number of names with the archaic ending -aḥ or -aḫ: Afšaḥ, Fafeḥ, HBTK, Hataḫ, Šamanzaḥ, Šurišbaḥ, Timarzaḥ, in addition to those in *Monk and Mason*, p. 29 with n. 53. The list also reveals some of the lost Christian communities of Bēṯ Muḥallam, between Midyat and Mardin/Ṣawro. Only further research on the *Book of Life* can show if this can help us to date the Islamicisation of that region (see Fiey 1982, p. 261 with n. 23).

One of the chief sources for the history of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn in the period after that treated in *Monk and Mason* is the continuator of *Chr. Gregory* I-III, whom we have identified with Addai of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, the compiler of the late fifteenth-century *Book of Life*. Addai deserves a full-length study, for which more MS research is necessary. Van Helmond (1942), Barṣawm (1964), Göyünç (1969, 1974) and Fiey (1982) have already made a start on aspects of the history of north-eastern Mesopotamia in and around the fifteenth century. Before we go further, we should study all the available sources. The *Book of Life* as kept at Qartmīn Abbey and at Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā still has many secrets to reveal. *L. John bar Shayallah*, another excellent document of active preservation against the "tooth of time", will soon be available. Perhaps the notes made by Barṣawm (1943, p. 95; Syriac, p. 132) from the *Book of Life* of Zaz may be discovered. New inscriptions are waiting to be recorded. When these and other preparations have been made it will be time to think of a sequel. This *Book of Life* links *Monk and Mason* organically with its unborn and unnamed sister-study.

F. THE BOOK OF LIFE ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF BETH SVIRINA

Here follows the Syriac text of the *Book of Life*, as copied by Kenᶜan of Fōfyāṯ from a MS dated 1959 at the abbey of Qartmīn. The page-numbers in arabic numerals at the bottom apply to the present text; the page-ends of the Qartmin MS are marked with an asterisk and noted as "fol." with roman numerals in the margin. The other numbers ("No.") refer to the passages translated at the end of the Microfiche Supplement, section H.



Title

Preface

No. 41

No. 42

fol. II

fol. III

fol. IV

Prayer

fol. V

وكه حسدا وعدوا لمحمود امم : ومبلا
هز هنا بسما لمحمود ملحنا هم واحد كه
هماوجا حدبا هوا هبعدا : لخبتها
ممعمتها مكلما انتا وكم امحا واه
مكم تلحبو ونعداه هم حوا حم احفظا
معدنا مبعتدا وكلمحمود وهكم هبتها
وجاكم همومتمحمود وبجدو هم الحوا
هنسعا سكمم منها معتنا . مسكه
حبتا معتمر وجبه هم حبا هوا هبعدا.
امحم :

"ممعداهذا واجم هيم هم هعدا ل كليلا بجبد لا بربدا"

حبتها اوكحم معدوا وممعمها : احا
هنعدمحم . هاها حعدنبا . معنى احنكحم
وعدا . معنى همومحمحم معدوا بوسا
معنكها امده : معدوا بعتنا . معكنى
كداو . معنى حكم بوجتنا . معنى مغمله
واسلا واوادو : معنى مسكم حنحا.
معنى ابوامحم معنى همحمو كلمحمحا.
معنى حمسم معدا سكاه اوكحم معدوا

حبتها معنوه . معنى كمحمحم مسكاه
همهم مسحنهمه موكه معنى كحبسا
معنى احمس مسحنهمه معنى ححنابه
معال الكنا مسحنهمه وابمكه * حمده fol. VI
محبكاه . معنى مكمحم مسجعا معروسا.
معنى مكمحم مكحبا معنى مكمحم معمعما.
معنى اهنمر مكحبا . معنى امعسم الحبره
معنى اوس هكسا معنى الموكمحم معنى
احنمحم معنى لحنهمحم حمر مسحنهمه.
هنحا وحبتها معدوا بوبتا ولا جاحس
بمحمدتهمحم واه حجاجم حبم ولا مبحكم
معدتا وكلمحم : معنى معحداسلا وهم وسا No. 43
حبعدا وكجمحنا حبعدا وحناهجم . معنى
حمحمحم الحبره وبم حناهجم وكبكا هما
لكحه متا حاممحنبا وحمتعا : احا
معوهمه . احا احنمر معنى معمسلم معنى
امكعدا معنى معنى حمر معنى معمسلم
معنى حمحمحم . معنى احا معنى حمحمحم
معنى امكا : معنى وسامسلا وهم وسا
واحبمعمحما حبعدا وحما ححمحنا حبعدا
وحناهجم . معنى معامسا معنى الاسمحمحم
معنى حموهم معنى معنهمه وبمحمسا

fol. VII

p. 10

p. 11

No. 50

fol. VIII

fol. IX

No. 12

fol. X

No. 45

fol. XI

ومنها. هم اسموه حفنا الحديد.
ثالثا هذا الحرف حذف منه الياء
ومنها لهم اسم ※
حاف هم هذا حفنا هذا
كحاف هذا الحاف. حاف. لها حفنا
الذي هذا حاف :: حاف هذا لهم اسم
لها وحاف :: حاف. الذي هذا حفنا
هذا هم الياء الحاف. حاف
حفنا هذا الياء هم هذا حاف
حاف. حفنا هذا حاف. حاف
حاف هذا حفنا. حاف هذا
حاف هذا حفنا. حاف هذا
حاف هذا حفنا. حاف هذا

fol. XIII

No. 33

fol. XIV

No. 3

fol. XV

No. 13

fol. XVI

fol. XVII

fol. XVIII

fol. XIX

fol. XX

p.32

p.33

fol. XXII

No.3 (cont.)

fol. XXIII

fol. XXIV
No. 32

p. 38

fol. XXV
No. 22

p. 39

No. 21

p.40

p.41

fol. XXVI

fol. XXVII

ههه هبامسا. اهوه وسا حبحاكما.
حزوها وسا ههه هحمنسا. هههه
وسا ههها هحمنسا: ساهاما وسا
ههه حلاهدا هحمنسا. هههه وسا هههه.
هههه وسا هههه. هههه وسا ههه هههه
هههه وسا هحمنسا. ركه لهههه: لحاه
وسا حدسا. حزسه حهدا وسا جلها.
اهوه وسا حدسا. حزسه حهدا وسا
جلها. اهوه وسا هها. لحاه وسا
حهوه ها. حهوه وسا حهحدا
هذا سها لهههه: هسلم وسا حهوه ها
اههسه وسا هههها حلاهدا سامسا.
هسلم هه احبسا هه وسا هههه
هسبا هم وسا وهذا. ركه لهههه هبلا
هذ: هسلم رلحا هههه وسا
هههك سههسا: نبهه هههلهه وسا
هبتبا. هههم هسهسم هساوا هم
هروا وهم: هههه هههلهم هذه
هلهم لهههاما* هههه وهم وسا
هبحاما هههم هذههذ هلهلهسا
هلحاوه هههه. هذا بها لههه:
لحبلها هههر لحبالله هههر هههه.

fol. XXVIII

هه هحبه هههر: هههه هم لهذاهم
هههوا هههس هم هههسنا/. لحاوه هاها
بهذ هههوا هسلم ااذنا هذا بههها
لههه: هذاه ااههههاه هذه هههنسا.
هاه هههه هسلم رلحا هحبنسا:
هسلم هههه سههنبا. هههبا هم بهههاهه:
اذههه اه هههبه هههلم امتا هم
لهذاهه. هذا بها لههه: هحاما
الها هزههها سهلم هههر. لحوهه
هههاما هاللهه هه هسها الحاه:
هههك. لحاه هههذ اهبا اهبههه
سهههم هلحه لحذاما هذا بها
لههه: هههه اذههه هههه الهها.
بههم لحذاما هه هههها هذاهه هه
اذههه وههاه لههها. هزههها
لهذه هههها هههههسا. اههاه
سلحا. هههه هسلم لحبالله هذا
بها لههه: اذنا لحبالههههه هه
هههاما هحوه لهنه هههه. هبحه
هسلم هنا ااههه لههه حلههه
هسلما هحهه هحاما هاه اهوه
اهس. هههاهم. هذا بها لههه:

fol. XXIX

fol. XXX

fol. XXXI

حووبما. احما احمك وهبا. حمد
حمت. حمما محمر. محمر حمما
ساسا: حنالا ماامما حمت. حبالحمس
حمم بارق حرومما. الاهم امسمم
بمم حوجز. احمم ححكاو الما.
هنا بمما لحمز: حبالله امؤز
سمم احما حمدالا نجم محمر
معلم حلما مسمم ملم. احمم
حمت حمما هاما. هلمز محمم
حالز محمم هلحاوم: ولم منحما.
احمم برمحما. لهمّ. هنا بمما
لحمز: هنمم امؤها حمم هلحاوم
معلم حمت احلاوما. حنالا محبز
هما الما مدم حبالحمس الاهما
مدنها حلحز احمم مدم محمالا.
هنمم محمد حلما محمز
محمما: محمد وبالا هاهنا. احمم
مسلم. حنمم حمما حلاب الاهما
حنالا. احمم مدنها امؤها
محمحف هاهنا هنا بمما لحمز:
احمم محمز مسلم حمما. محمم
هنمم حمت. حمؤما حمما.

هاهنا حمما. حرومما هنزا امهجتا
محمتما ها حمؤا وهنا حرومما
هنا بمما لحمز: ومم مسلم هاهنا.
الما. محمم * حنالا احنم امؤحمم fol. XXXIII
الاهما حمحمهم حمؤمم. حلاب
محمز وبالا حمؤمحمم امحسمم
احما. محمما وحما. الاهم الاوؤك
محملحمم امحلحمم. هنا بمما
لحمز: الاهما وحما هنحم حمما. الحاو
حنالا. حنحمؤ احنا احمل. اما
مامم محمدبا: حنمم حمحما الما. الاهم
اما حنمم حمحما. وبالا هلحمم. احنا
احمؤا. هنحا مهنا. محملحمم حمدالا
احمم. حمحمهلحمم. وبالا هؤحلم
لحمما. حنالا. ولحما. امؤز. حلاب
لحم. حمؤمم حمحما حمما. وبما
مسلم حمؤمم حمحمهب. حنمم حمت
حمحمحم الحاو محمز محمد محمز
احمم احما حاحمالا. هنا بمما
لحمز امحم: هؤحلم حلاب الحاو
الاحملا. محمد احمم حنمم حمحما
الهمحمحم احمم محنمم الاحمم

fol. XXXIV

fol. XXXV

حيالهصبس احذهصص هدهم منصا.
همنا معفوهص حنفر احزهم ميلحصا.
مدهوم لحاو معجبر معصنبنصا. احنا واهدا
مقفر. مدهنا حتنا وملاه بجم حصحا
معجنمذهص هدنا بسمصا لحفر احصم:
حوفيهص ومنا معقر بجم حجمصزا.
امنصص ومنا معقر موحصدا واحم
سمصا هدنا معنصلم حنا لحجفر. حنزهصا
ومنا معقر. هفنصص واحزهم معهقصا.
اهوفهم ومنا معقر الحبيره واحم
لهوحدا هدنا معنصلم. احزهم ومنا معقر
حلوفو معقر ومنا. معهوا معقر اصا
وهدنا معنصلم فهنذحا. ولحصا ومنصا
معقر. معهنا ومنا معقر. معهنا ومنا
معصص مدهصص معقر. معلاهم معقر
هدنا بسمصا لحفر: لحم معقر وهم
معقر. احنا ومنا معقر. معصفر ومنا
معقر. حمصل معقر ومنا. ملحباوهص
ومنا معقر. ولحصا ومنا معهنا ومنا
معقر. منا ومنا معقر هدنا بسمصا
لحفر: ولحصا ومنا معقر. مبصم ومنا
معقر. معفهم ومنا معقر. معفهم

ومنا اصنصص ومنا معقر. معصص ومنا
معقر. هدهم ومنا معقر. حمصل
احصا احنالحمز معنصلم معقر* احزهم fol. XXXIX
معقر. نمصم معقر. معلك معقر ووهدا.
ولحصا ومنا. معلاهم ومنا. هدنا بسمصا
لحفر: حاهد ومنا معقر. مبصم ومنا
معقر. لحصا ومنا معقر. معهنا حنزاصا
معصص ومنا معقر وحصا. حوفيهص
معصص احنالحمم ومنا معقر. معصص
واحلك معقر. هدنا بسمصا لحفر:
معهنا معصفر ومنا هدنه وحجمصزا
بجم حنزا حنصا. حيالهصبس معقر
معجنمصا. مسمصفر ومنا ولحصا حنزاصا
معهوا معصوهصص امنا حلاتنا ووهدا
جنلهصا. معنصلم ومنا حنزاصا. ولحصا
ومنا معقت مامسا هدنا بسمصا لحفر:
حنا بجم حصحا ومنا حصوفوسا. معصت
ولحصا ومنا مامسا. معلاهم ومنا
معجنمصا. امنصص ومنا معقر معصت.
لحوا نلبس نحصه احم: معصص
ومنا. معهنا معقر. حنزهصا معصصصا
معجنمصا لحاو معقر. احصلك ومنا.

p. 64

p. 65

ماسا . اوه حوزا . ههمز معلم حزه
معزنا . امصه قصا . حزاما
معمر حفزهصا . حلوفه ميصا .
معداما صهما سفحا هزنا بسها
لهوز ؛ معصا هم حسم . معصه
مسهم حزه هم هفصط ؛ وساما
فوفا . حز بحده ماسا . حزاهم صهت
معا وهه حبا حوزا . معوهه
حفزهلها . سلسا حوزا . امصه
معزنا . سفهم معلوفه حزه ميقصا .
هعصا حوزصا . حزاهم هم حزهفا .
هزنا بسها لهوز ؛ معلوز معصه
حزه حفتا . ولحا معزه مهسم فزيتا .
ولحا معمر حوزا . حبالكه فزوما .
حزاهم امصه هم هعلم . علم
حفزهصا * حلحز نبلسا . هزنه حه
ولسا . احزهم معزه معزها معهسم
لكزنا . علصه هم علا . هزاه حه
معهلا حلت حلوفه حزهفسا . اهحز
صهت وهعبا ولس . احفلسهم
خزاما . اه حهزه هم هعصهلا . اهفا
معهسم حزه هم حلا سهعنس . سعا

حصوفسا . علوفه هم امس . معصا هم
حوزا . احبر اوبامل . هعلز هم حفزهفسا
هعزفو صهت وهعبا وابيلا . معحص
معمر هزسا . معصاما صهما حلهسا .
حلف صهت ابلا . علاما صهت افحلا
(افلاهم الهنا وحفزه الاحيه ومنا وحبنا) .
هزنا بسها لهوز ؛ احفزنر معلهم
هم وحيا . احلهصه صهما هزسا .
علوفه احفالحز افحلا . حلهزحه
علحه السهم حزه هم وحيا . حفزيه
هم اا . معصا مسهم حزه هم فوزم .
هلب حزاوفهم هم هحلحه . معصه
ومنا . حلف ومنا . معصا سحص هم
حلصوفوا . احنا صهت . بسفر صهما
احفصير صهت . حزاما صهت . هعصه
صهت . سنا معمر . هماسا : احزهم
مسحص هم حصا علحم . لحاو اوبامل .
حبالكه هنا علحقا . لحم هم وحيا .
معصا حكفا . معسص هم هسمزا .
معصفه اوهنا سنلما . هزنا بسها لهوز ؛
الاهنا سلحا . وسا هم حفصبا . فحبا
افحلا . احنا حلها . احفصص هزصا

fol. XLI

fol. XLII

fol. XLIII

fol. XLIV

ولما ومنا. وقم حدثاً ومنا. وقم
لها ومنا. وقم امكن ومنا. معهما
احتهم ومنا. وقم اوب ومنا وجمع حما
وهاما لحبا ومنه ووا ومنه اسا
وحد معجنا ومنه اهما الحدا
بسما لهن ÷ هت امنه ومنا
مخبزهم. وقم حزوما ح هت بحبا
ومنا خذنا وقم ركحا ومنا ح
معهما وهم خذنا منا بسما لهن ÷
وقم امهاتا ومنا معجنا منا
بسما لهن ÷ وقم ملحا فقا ومنا.
هت اوب وقه. هت حهنر ح
قفوهم ماحنه مجنداه بهذا
الحا بسما لهن ÷ وهنه منه: معهما
مفلم ح منهن ماحنه منه
ووهه هت معما معنهم وقم منهن
وقم ولما منا بسما لهن ÷ هت
حبا ح فهم ماحنه همذاتا.
ومرف لهر هتب وقبها معجنتم
مجبه معما اوحد ريبا وهاما
لحبا ومنه ووا ومنه اما ومنه
اهما وحد معجنا الحا بسما

لهن ÷ معهما اما ح حزوما ح حفا
مخبزهم. هت وهتا حد هنذا
ح وهما هذهم ووهن معما معنه
وحومنا وهنامم وهم مجم هما معنه
تا وبهه وح قهمد هذ ومنوم
وهم ابلم لم منحا هم منه حاتاتا
الحا بسما لهن ÷ هت حناتا جزوحد
وحد حاوما واوهلهم بجم قما
هذا لحبا ومنه ووا الحا بسما
لهم امم * حلت امنهم حاما. معنهم:
الما: ماوب ومنه. بجم حما حهزا
وهاما لحبا وحد معجنا الحدا
بسما لهن. امهن وتسا حنا معهم
همهن محمد. حاقا ومقفا صهتا
سلف بقحا وحبتهم. الحا بسما
لهن ÷ هت همهن تسا ح ركحا
ح وقم هحزا ماما وبله وقم حناتا
ومنه حد لهم هم حد امهمد. معنا
بسما لهن ÷ وحنا صنعا ابلم. هت
حهما ح هت اوب ح هت ملحم
وحنه حهنر مجله قما بجمزا لحبا
ومنه ووا وحد معجنا ماحنه

حنا صنعا هنهم وحصنا حلحا هنا
وهعف منا سلك نعهف هنا بسعا
لهف اهم ٭ هنهم حنا حنوهما وحد
هعفا ٭ حذاملا هم اهوهعنا هعهف
مبؤوا حهنهز حمت احه هعهلا هسعا
هحنه اهما وحذاملا هعلحهص هدوتا.
احنهم حمت مناسا. ولحنا هسعا
حدوفوبا. هسهز حمتم سححا. هسعا
حذاملا فعنا. هحسعا وهم بحذا
اوهنا واوذا وهحلا. هنما بسعا
لحهز ٭ هحنهاهتالبا. هنهم وهنا
حنهعهسا. هحوهنا وهنا همتم. هسعا
احنهم وهحبالا وهسبهز. حز وسعا
حذاملا. هنما بسعا لحهز ٭ تاوهم
همت مناسا. هحنه حنوهما. حنوهما
حز هعفا. هحنهم اه وههبا حنلاه.
هنما بسعا لحهز ٭

No. 46 وهنا وملاحم هس ححوهنا هم هسعا.
هلهنهم هس لحوبا امحا وهسم هسا
هنحه واحم احاص هحنه حذاملا
اهسهحهما. هاهحنهم لحذا حسعا.
حز حنبه هسا هنكه هحنه هلا هنحجالهسا

fol. XLVI
الا ابهتهم هقحلهم هوحنه. هههحه
همتا هحتالا وجبب هسا. هوهنا هنهم
هجله هس لحنهز هاتا وحلهم. حز
هبه ابم هبعهه حلحا هم حهمنأ.
وهنا هنهم هوهنا وسعسا مبالا. هبهو
لحذا وهراه لحهز. حز وبحهه
لحذا هسبها. هاحنه اهلك لحهز
حهقوبا هجلك هنهز وهنا مس. وس
هنامس هنحذا. هحز هحسهسم لحنا
إذا هم هتاهسل. هجلم هم حهمنا
لحنحذا هنامس. امتا وهنا ححدح
هاوحلم حهتا. هسامسهم لحذا هسبها.
هههحذا هسامع واهحلا حز مس هم وهنا
حهمنا هنهم حهسا امكة هسا. همحتة
هنهم وحبحه لحذا هسبها ابهسبه
هس هجلك هتنهز هههحه لمحنا
وحكهز هسبا. همسع هجلسهم لهسبا
هههسهسم لا حنهعا هجلسهم ابهم
لحهمنا. هههسهسم حس همحسا.
هههسهسم ححمد هسبتها. حنهعا لحذا
هسبها وهنه حذاملا.....
وامتا حتحا.....نهجم هنه هنهم سحعسا

وحمدا حقيقا وحاؤا حدثنا.
اوخص ومثا ووحا هذا بسما لحه
ولاحقه. الاهم هت حهنا. معه
حمبها سمها هذا بسما لحه.
احكسهم هت اوم ومثا. حذاما هت
هحسنما سمها ومثا. هذا بسما
لاحقه. هحص ومثا ماسا اوم ومثا.
حوسم هت هحسنما لكا ومثا
هذا بسما لحه. معهم هت حذاما
اوم ومثا هذا بسما لحه ولاحقه.
هحص بم ومثا وحط هجا اوم ومثا
هذا بسما لحه ولاحقه ولاما ولحه
احهحسم بحه ومثا. بم امنا
هذه هت حذاما ومثا هذا
بسما لحه. هلحص لححا سمها
ومثا هذا بسما لحه ولاحقه.
هحداما هت ماسا ومثا مه. fol. XLVII
هذا بسما لحه. بوم هت ومثا.
الاهم سمها ومثا هذا بسما لحه
ولاحقه. معه ومثا سمها ومثا.
هذا بسما لحه ولاحقه. ححما
هت ومثا. احنوف ومثا هذا بسما

لحص. وسا ومثا. معه هت ومثا.
سمهص ومثا. اجب ومثا. حذاما هت
ومثا. معه سهم ومثا. هذا بسما
لحص. الاهما ومثا. وسا ماسا ومثا.
اهنم سمها ومثا. حنسم حهما ومثا.
مهنم هت ومثا هنهه ومثا. لحسما
ومثا. حذاما ماسا ومثا. هذا بسما
لحص. ملاه هحص مهنم حهما
احكسهم هذها هنحهه هذا بسما
لحص. هحص حسهم هت ومثا. هذا
ومثا هذا بسما لحه ولاحقه.....
(لحص. هه احسم ومثا.....
هما مداما حدهذا مهجاه هلم ومثا.
وحم لكا. وحم حذاما. وحم وسم. وحم
هلحا. وحم معه. وحم الاهما. وحم
حهسم. وحم ولحا. وحم الاهما. وحم
حهنم. وحم جلك. موحم هلحص.
امه. وحم حهوا. وحم حهنحا.
هلم ومثا وهاه. حهوا هيذا حهذا
حهذا هبها. موحم وسا حهبا
حهحص. لكما بسما لحص. امم.
ومهحهوهه. اهحهحا. الاهلحه

fol. XLVIII

No. 5

No. 2

fol. XLIX

fol. I

No. 24

p. 84

p. 85

fol. LIII

fol. LIV

fol. LV

fol. LVI

No. 1

No. 7

fol. LVII

p. 92

No. 4

p. 93

ملكا بسما لحلقم واهداه / حملا.
ما فجذا اسم. حمة معنه ومنا
معجنسا. ماما وملك هذا بسما لهمز:
اوم معتز. وفم مفسم ومنا وفعيما.
وفم حذاملا اؤهمز انتا وابسعه حمتا
No. 14 هذا بسما لهمز: حمة مفسم وحد
معما. ومعمة وسا ذ حمة اهدا. وحمة
مفسم ذ بوز. ومعمة كمعمة اوحدا
حمتما هم حد معجنبا وحسم معما
ابا هنسه وحسم معما اذنهه. وحسم
معما مبده لهمز حجاجا وفنجلا.
هذا نبس بعمتاهمز: ومبده حمد
الف معجدا معد ماكلام ومعتا.
وؤهمز مبد حمد هذا فزمعمه:
حمة اهدا معجنسا الها بسما لهمز.
No. 15 ومعمة معنه معجنسا هذا وملهمز
جبر هد الحق ومفنا هذا بسما
لهمز امم:
معجمة اؤهدا اسمعه وسمعا فزمعا
وحد ابجمد. وفم حذاملا سمعا
ذ اسفهه. وفم فزمعا اهنهه
هذا بسما لهمز: مفسم هذا وملك

لسبنا وسا ؤهؤفا مجلم حمعز.
حم لا ابدؤم مم إنه. الا حدوق
الها اصلم وبيام ماجنم لحلقهمز
فنم له اهدا واكاهمز معم للاهدفا
فرمسا. مملا ومعماهمز اجيه معمد.
ملكا فنه لحلا إنه امر فخيؤمه
امم:

No. 17 حجر هذ وؤهذا لهدا مجدوبا مخجلا
فرم حاهدا وملكم هزمعدا لاهم سمعا
الجلاب لهؤفا هذ فلاكمعمده
وحؤهذا فربعا وفناهم. وابداه سمعا
fol. LVIII فؤمعا معجنسا* وهجم هدا ومعمم
اذا لمنقد هزملا لهدس حذاملا. مهجم
لؤهدا لحؤجدا وفجرؤما. ماداه سمعا
وحؤهذا حمجنعا وفحزه. ملك بعمه
ونعتدا واحمؤمه احؤهه وفعما حجلا.
ماهمه كاجلبا. دامتا وملك معسز
اوم ده اسا وملك معنه. ممداه
ؤممتا: اهدا وبسما لهمز معاهجاا
حمجؤف فؤؤهدا وزنكدا ماحمتعدا
وخمعز متا وحجؤهذا هدا فربعا
ولحذاه حمم امم:

fol. VIII

fol. IX

fol. IXL

No. 8

fol. LXIII

fol. LXIV

fol. LXVII

ههجنسا ونجسا . هيلا اوكسا . الجسا
ومنا حدوبسا . وهم مهنم بسكسا .
الهما بسها لهوز ؛ امسا ومنم نكحيف
ونهكاهف حس حكتا ماحقكا نبهتكا
وبكهوز وكما الهما مننسا ومكهم ؛

No. 44 اهف وم مكف نهتكا هجبتا واهوتسا
وهنا حومنا هبها هنا بهماف لم
حوثكاهوز اهم ؛
هسا اهوهسا . هوهنه هسا هكه .
وساا اهوهسا . مهنم اماا هكهف
هسا حكاا حوفسه هنسه
وساا هنا بسها لم حوثكاهوز ؛ اهفا
اهوهاهه هنسه هكه . حتوتف جم
هوفرسه . حسا اجسا هوم . كلحضم
احهه هكه كلم احهههاا اوحسا .
حنا وبكه ابهسف هههتم هههوه .
ركحا هجت هوبف حبا . احهههب
هههز حنا وبكه هههف . الحسا
سهجف هههز . ماه الهنا حنه حتم
fol. LXVIII هههوم فوتسا . جبسا امف * هنههف
هنسوز حنه هههتسا . لحاز هههسا

هجاسا . حجبكه هسا . حجبالنسهف
ناوز جبسا . هنا بسها لهوز ؛ احف
هوهاا هسها احهههوز امتا حنهوز
اوحسا هجت حنوهجا ماكتاه حزا
هنجا وههجه اهنهم هجبها ساسسا .
هجت احهه جم هنوهوما ماكتاه
حنا هنجا هنهم هنا بسها لهوز ؛
حجاساا ماهه هجاوجه . هنهم حنا
ااهجا ماحهز هجنز هجت اوم وهسا
هجت هجم احاوجا . وهم هنهسا
هججنسا . هومنا هجهف هجسا حز
اسا ووهم هجنا . وهم هنهم حهزاسا .
وهم احهه حدوبسا . وهم هكحا
ومنا . هجهوز هجنا وبكه جم حنكا
هنا بسها لهوز ؛ ركحا هجهه هنحجا
ووهم هجسا . هجنا سهجسا . وهم ووهم
هههتز . حاسا هجهه هههتز . وهم هنهسا
هههتز . وهم هنهسا . هوهم هنجها هههتز
هجهنف حز ركحا هنسا . هههوه
هنسهسا . وهم وساا حجاسا . وهم
هجنا وهسا . وهم ااهجا هججنسا .
ركحا هجهه اوحسا حز هجسها حنوهجا

ممحبا معنمعا ماباهنم هما
همكلهم هنا بمعا لم حزكاه
امم ؛ حكاوه همكلهم خ مكاه وهزة
حلف وهمه حبا . هم همنا هنا.
الماهنم هما الحق ومقا . معنمل fol. LXX
لحبرسا . وقوما حمنقا وهنبسا خ اولهره
وقم همه همت ووما خ همعا
احما همجة . الحا بمعا لهوز امم ؛
حكاوه وقم يقم هم وهبعب هبهكا ؛
وهب سمر . امنمه معزما هوزما
معنمل خ همكه . معكوم هجامعا
واوحا حتم هما هوز وهو معنمل
ماباهنم يقم لحموهما وهزوم . هنا
بمعا لهوز ؛ حكاوه الماهنم معزمحا
لحبرسا وقم همهم احنهم ححنا
نحما معبها معهمبر حرومتا وهكاوها
حم امنهم معما منجب (هم حلحا
وابحالا) هم هوز يقم . ماوهمهوز بمكه
لحبرسا . معهما احت ومقتا جبر
معما معجد حاوالا وحزوه.
ماباهنم حجالا ومنم همهم . الحا
بمعا له امم ؛

هم هوما هنا ومعزما وهبعا ؛ اهزهم
حكاه معجهابه مكم حلهوز امتا وحوهنا
وهناهم
احم معما حموهمه هنعا ماهنم
معجمعة وهمجا . هوهه همت معنه
حزهمت احما هنعا هنعا بمعا
لهوز ملجبتمهوز ؛ حكاوه معمعا
امولهنمهم الحجبره ماسهنم وبعا خ
همت معنه وحم همهو . الحا
بمعا لهوز ملجبتمهوز ؛ وقم الحا
وقم ومتا وحمنا . الحا بمعا لهم.
همت حلحا ومنا وقعا الحا بمعا
له : وقم حزنب ومنا معجمعا.
ماسهنم همت احما ماحة وقم
حزوهما . هنا بمعا لهوز امم ؛ وقم
معهمه ومنا حلحا . هووه همجا
معنمل . هنا بمعا لهوز ؛ وقم حنعم
ومنا اوحا معجبتهنم الحا بمعا
لهوز ؛ همت همهم ومنا وحمعا
حكاوه وقم * وهزنهم ومنا معزما fol. LXXI
وقم حزوهما ومنا الحا بمعا
لهوز ؛ همت معمه اوحا ملجبتهنم

fol. LXXIII

ههك همها ومنا. اهوز هقت ومنا.
سامسا. احنهم هقت ومنا المسا. هقنا
هقت هم وهيا. مقسم همها ومنا
هم مامس. هنا بسها لهمز ∴ همزة
هقت. اهوز ومنا ههقت. هقنا هقت
هم حفحصا هنقا هيم هبيلا
وحبالا ومقبا الها وحجوقنا وهنت
حنامسا. اوه سهما همم هقت هنه
هقت همها. هجصا لا جهقوقنا سلك
نهقنا واههقهم هقت سلحا واسقاه
حنا همقا وسسا. واسقاه حنا همقا
هقنهم. ههقتة احسا هسلحا هحتاة
هنا بسها لهمز ∴ ههقه هههاسا
هقت. هسهاسا واحد * هجتها. الهنا for. LXXIV
حسهقم وهتا. امهسه احنهم لهمم
احفهجها ههقه هقوقهه حتاهسا.
هاهمه مقهمم ومنا هنافه. احنهم
هقنا هقوقهه حجر هقنه هقت. ههقه
هلووه مجمز همهنز. هجبها هقهقه
ومنا ههههها. هنا بسها لهمز ∴
احنهم لهمقاسا هلووه احبا حتاهمه
ههقه حجبالله. بقهنز. احنهم مقسم

ههقه هقهم هجهقه احنهمم هسلحا
هروسا ومنا. الهنا احنهم احه الحمز
احنهم هنهم وسامسا وقا هههوح
الهنا. حنامم ومنا هنافه. هنسا
بسها لهمز: مقهمم وسامسا. احنهم
هقمم لسها هقزههه هقنا مقسم
مجمم. لحنه اسا. سهله مجهجه
هههلا هجنز هلهمم هقنهه هههم
بلهم هقت. مقهمم. حجر الههههسه
هنولحا لها. احنهم هوقه هلهه.
مسلهم مقسم ههقه وسامسا الحسا.
هنا بسها لهمز. ههقه سسلحا. احنا
اوقه هجم. هههم اوسا احه
هههلا بهجم نهنهم ههلا مقهمم
اسا هلجز اههسه. هلهمز بقنه
حهزاسا. مجهه نهلهم حنه هجم
مبلهجه هنا بسها لهمز ∴ اههسلحه
هم ااه. وقم الهنا هقت هم حناهسا
مهجهم مجهسلحا. حجر الهلهم سسلحا.
هنهّم بلهقا. الهم. ههجهم جهقتها.
(هجهه الحه هنوا) احنهم هنهسا
هسلا واههجلحه نهقسا.

ܐܠ ܒ ܗܢܐ ܐܒܗ ܚܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܠ ܒܡܚ
ܣܪܐ. ܡܒܗ ܚܙܘܚ ܡܡܡ. ܘܠܒܚ
ܡܒܐ ܚܙܚܚ. ܚܙܘܚ ܐ ܡܡܡ
ܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܡܚ ܠܗ ܚܙܘܚ
ܡܡܒܗ ܡܡ ܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܒ ܘܒ
ܡܒܐ ܐܘ ܡܚܒܢ ܐܗܘ ܚ fol. LXXV
ܘܠܐ. ܘܠܚ ܚܙܘܚ ܚܙ ܡܡ.
ܐܡ ܡܡܘ ܚܙ ܡ ܡ ܡ
ܚܘ. ܚܒ ܡܡ ܡ ܡ ܘ
ܡ ܡ ܘ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ
ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ
ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ
ܡ ܡ ܡ

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܩܘܡ ܘܙܠ
ܐܚܪܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܠܐ
ܬܫܕܘܢ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܬܫܩܘܢ ܀ ܐܦ
ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܀
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܀ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܐܠܐ

fol. LXXVIII

وعلى الحوا . وهب اخذا . حزم
حمحا . هنزهم هعداملا . هذا بمعا
لهمز ؛ لحبالهمس امس لهعداوهم
معنى وسلا . هلهم هعداملا مهمذ
احنهم سحبح . وسلا وسا خمعلا
لهعداملا . هعنز مع اهعلاهم امعس
اهبع مهمذ الاهذا . امعس
لحبالهمس الحا بمعا لهمز ؛ معذا
وهم هاهموا : لحذاملا لنهزهو
الاهذا لهسلهم لحذاملا . هلهمهم
معهم وبهذا خاب وابهلا مع حمقوم
وحبلا منزلا . هذا بمعا لهمز ؛
مهنع هعهمل وسلا وهم هاهموا
هوهلك مهنع الحا مهنع . اوخرهم
وهعهموا . احنهم هاهذا* هاهاملا fol. LXXIX
الاهذا هحا مهنع هذا بمعا لهمز ؛
حلهم سحمر احنهم . هعهمل
هحاملا وهم هاهموا لحذاملا امع
لهاهذا وهذ هحاملا . هذها هروفا .
سحمر هعهمل . لحبالهمس
هبهعدا وهم هذهعم هذا بمعا
لهمز ؛ معذ هاهاملا وهم هاهموا

سحمر هذها هعلى سما . الاهلاهم
هعلاهم ولحا لحبالهمس لهوهم
وهم هاهم . هلحاوهم هعداملا . وهم
هاهاملا وهم وهذا وهذ سحبحا .
لحبهعدا امعس هاهذا امهلهم
احنز . لحبالهمس هاهذا مهنع
هاهبذا سحبح امعس لحذاملا احبا
الاوهاهم هعوهعاهم معذ لحبالهمس
هذا بمعا لهمز ؛ امعس هعلاهم
احذا هذها احنهم . هاهاملا لحبالهمس
هعنز امعذاملا حزم حمحا . هعنز
وهم هذهعم الاهذا وهم هعنتحا .
معذ هذا بمعا لهمز ؛ هسا وهم
هاهم . هعهمل هزوهذاهم حعسا
هاهاملا لهعداوهم . هلهمهم وهم هاهم .
احذا هاهذا هعهمل هحاملا لحبالهمس
وهم هاهم . حزم حمحا الحا بمعا
لهمز ؛ احنهم الاهذا الحا . هعنز
حلهم مهنع احنهم هلهمهم سحبح
مهنع الحا . الاهذا احنهم هعنز
هبحذا ؛ احنهم احذا مع وهذا وهذ
سحبحا . هذا بمعا لهمز ؛ لحعداملا

وهمه ومنا هم ومنا وهنه سحبما
وسامالا حجرا. حوفهم هنه حصلا ماحة
همت محاوسر اباهلا هم حدقوا لنها
اهكحما حهلحدا وحا منا بسما لهمز
الاهما امصمه ساحسالا. حدهلم
fol. LXXX همبوما حجرهمتا * محمده هماهبنا
همهز خلاهما منا بسما لهمز: مسلما
اوم امصمه هذها. همهم. مهنا
الما ساحسالا اهنهم همجوز. حجرهمتا
ملحاوه همهنهمه. هنا سحبه.
منا بسما لهمز: اممهم احمه
سفحمه هلمهمز وهم وهستذا. همحا
ساحسالا. حجلحا همتا احفهمتا هم
ملحلهس. محسالا هلحها. منا بسما
لهمز سحبه هنا همهز حوهمه
مدنحا همحا مفسلم سا. همزهمه
الما الاهمه. همهم حجلحه
امصمه همهمه مفسلم وهحلا همحم
مسحبه ومتا هم ومنا ومنا
احمه منا بسما لهمز: احفهم
همت همتا ومنا همهمه حوسالا
مفسلم حوهما حوسالا اسفهم نهلحها

حوهما هلمهم خلاهما وهنه مساهمه
منا بسما لهمز: حجرنا ساهبم هلم
همهمه حوهمه. حجالهمهبس همهنهمه
همهمه ومنا هم حهمنا وحه حوهمه.
هلمهم همحما وحهمنا وحه حوهمه.
منا بسما لهمز: وهم ملهمم وهمه
ومنا وحه همهمه وهم همبما مسلاه
ومنا منهم وهم حوفهمه ومنا
احههلم هم منلس حوفهمه هم حما
حهمه. الاهما ومنا منهنا منا بسما
لهمز: ولحا منا. همحا مسلاه
مسحما. همت حوسالا هبما. همهنهو
حه همبما مساحسالا هم مسههمهه منا
بسما لهمز: همت احفهمم منهمما.
هلحا همهم مسهمه همت همبهمه
حجرا حه همت همجرا. همساحسالا حسا
وهلم: احفهم حوهما انا حهنهمما.
منا بسما لهمز: منا ومنا همهم.
رجبه ومنا ساحسا. همهم ولحا. همهز
حهمهوبما. منا بسما لهمز: منهمهم
fol. LXXXI ومنا هنهما * ساحسالا همبما هومنا
الاما. همهم ومنا حمهوبما. والهلا

fol. LXXXII

No. 40

fol. LXXXVI

p. 140

p. 141

fol. LXXXV

fol. LXXXVI

p. 140

p. 141

fol. LXXXVII

fol. LXXXVIII

p. 146

p. 147

p. 148

p. 149

fol. XCII

fol. XCIII

No. 37

fol. XCIV

fol. XCV

No. 27

fol. XCVI

No. 27

p.156

p.157

fol. XCVI

وهم هكذا ومنا اهكذا. واهكذا ومنا
هكذا هنا بعضا لهؤلاء: هكذا اهؤلاء
واهكذا وهم هكذا ومنا واهكذا وهم
هكذا ومنا اها وبلهؤلاء ومنا
وبهكذا هنا بعضا لهؤلاء: بهكذا
هكذا. بهنيم هكذا. بهكذا هكذا
هكذا هكذا هم هكذوا الها بعضا
لهؤلاء: اهكالهم هكذوا. هكذا
هكذاما انتا هكذا وهنا ماشا.
هنا بعضا لهؤلاء: هكذوهكذا هكذا
هزهم هكذا ومنا. هنهكذا ومنا
الها بعضا لهؤلاء: لهاذ ومنا هكذا هم
ومنا وهنا اهس وهم هكذا هنا
بعضا لهؤلاء: هكذا ومنا هكذا هم
ماهس. هكذا ومنا هكذا هكذا
هنا بعضا لهؤلاء: هكذا ومنا
هكذا. هكذا ومنا اهاما. اهكالهكذا
ومنا هكذا. لهاذ ومنا وهكذا هبا
وبله وبهكذا هنا بعضا لهؤلاء:
هكذا هكذوذ هكذا. هكذا هكذوذ
هم ماهس. هكذا اهكا هنا بعضا
لهؤلاء: هكذا بلها واهكذا. هكذا

ووهم هكذوبهكذا. هكذا هكذا هنا
بالها. واهكذا ووهم هنا بعضا
لهؤلاء: اهبا هكذا هكذاهكذا ووهم
الها هكذا هنا هكذا. الاوكذا هكذا
لهاذ. بهنا اهؤلاء بالا هكذا بالهكذا
الها بعضا لهؤلاء: اهكذا هكذاما
الها هكذا. هكذا اهكا هنا
هكذاما هنا هكذا اهكذا بالهكذا
وهم هكذا هم. هكذا هكذا هكذا
الها بعضا لهؤلاء: هكذا هكذا هزهم
الهاذ اهكذا هكذا. هكذا اهكذا
لهبهنا هكذا هكذا الها اهكذا
وهبكا الها الهاذ هكذا هنا بعضا
لهؤلاء: بالهكذا هكذا. اهكذا هكذا. هنا
هكذا بالهكا لهبالهكذا. هكذا هم
الها اهؤلاء الهكذا بكذا الها بعضا
لهؤلاء: هكذا هكذا. هكذا بالهكذا
الهكذا هكذا هكذا اهكذا هكذا
لهبالها هكذاما ومنا. لهبالها لهبكذا
هكذا هكذا هكذا اهكذا هكذا.
اهكذا. هكذا هكذا. الها بعضا لهؤلاء:

XCVII

fol. XCVIII

fol. XCIX

p. 162

p. 163

fol. C

fol. CI

fol. CII

p. 168

p. 169

fol. CIII

p.170

p.171

اوحا . ونسلا اوحدا. معهلا مدام اتنه
هحا اوحا . وحم ملحا وحم حزوها هم
حدا اهاهد . وحم هدهنا ومنا هحتز. وحم
وهم ومنا حهوبهحا . وحم ملحا ومنا
هحبة . وحم هحوهحهد ومنا هحسا.
وحم حدامال ومنا حهوبيا . وحم
ولحا ومنا حهوبيا : وحم ملحا
اهلهدا ومنا سححا . وحم هنسم ومنا
حهوبيا . وحم ولحا ومنا اسا وملم
هدنا ومنا هحده هنسم . هذا بسما
لهمز ؛ هحا سححا اسا وملم . هحهد
اوحا حهوبهد اوحا . هنسم هحبة.
وحم انا ومنا سبلا . هدنا ومنا هحبة
هحتهد حهوا امحسد هحهد هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ هحت حهوبهد هحت
سحبد هحزوها حهتا هحت هذهحد
اسا وملم . هحت هحوا اسا وملم هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ هحبحا حزوها هم حدا.
هلحهد اسا وملم هم اوحا . وحم
هلحهمز ومنا هم[1] فحبد . ااهذا هحبة
حهدم هحت هحبة . هاسحهد ؛ هاداه fol. CV

(1) ة: حذف هلا حيث حهمزة، لانه مدبسا.

حم هتهد هذا بسما لهمز ؛ حهوبهد
حم استهد سيلا . هنسم هاسهد هحبا
هاداه هحتهد . هحت سحم هحتهد
هاداه هذا بسما لهمز ؛ هحدم هم
حدا . هحسا اداه . هدنا هلححا .
وهذا الححا حهوبيا . حداه هذا
هذهم هبهحا هحذ هلحا . هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ الححا هبححيا . هسا
وهوهحه حهوبيا . هذهم هحنلحا
هلحا سححا . حاهز هم هذوم هحذا
وهلهذ . هذا بسما لهمز ؛ حكا هحدا
حذ هم وحا هذا . سححد سححا .
اهوم اوحا . هحهد هلححا اوحا .
سححا هحدا هحتا . هذا بسما
لهمز ؛ هحت هحذ هحمز هم سبلا .
هحبحا ححدا هم سبلا . حذا حنحا
هلحد . وهذا اسا هم حهوبححا .
وسلا سلحا . هحبحهد اوم هم
اوحا هسما . هذا بسما لهمز ؛ سححم
هحفحا . هحدا اوهاحا . احذهم
هحذهد هنححا . وهذا هححز .
احذهم هسها هم اا . اوم حذ حهحبا

ܐܡܝܢ ܐܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܀
ܡܚܕܬ ܚܘܢܝܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܩܛܠܐ ܀ ܒܝܬ
ܕܐܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܗܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬ ܐܚܐ ܀ ܚܙܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܬ
ܡܫܠܡ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܟ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܗܢ
ܡܫܠܡ ܒܟ ܩܛܠ ܀ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܀
ܘܟ ܐܚܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܚܬ ܒܗ ܚܘܘ
ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܀ ܘܟ ܡܫܟܚ ܘܡܢ No. 26
ܡܚܬ ܀ ܗ ܡܚܬ ܡܢܐ ܘܐܝ ܒܝܬ
ܒܝܬ ܀ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܀ ܡܫܟܚ
ܚܕܐ ܗ ܡܫܟ ܚܘܠܨ ܡܫܬܡܥ
ܐ ܘܟ ܐܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܘܡܫܟ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ
ܠܚܡ ܀ ܘܟ ܗܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܚܬ ܠܐ
ܐܝ ܘܠܐ ܐܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܘܡܫܟ ܐ ܗ
ܐܝ ܒܝܬ ܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܬ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗ ܀ fol. CVI
ܐܢܐ ܐ ܐ ܗ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܘܟܠ ܀
ܡܫܠܡ ܒܝܬ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܀
ܘܟ ܚܙܘ ܘܟ ܡܚܬ ܗ ܐܚܘ. (1) No. 29
(1) ܐܠܗ ܗܘ ܐ ܘܐ ܐ ܐ

No. 28

fol. CVII

اما وكم وهذه فكم هذا بسما لهمز ؛
الموهوب حاما . وفكذا محتة . وهمة
اخذهم وايداه بحملا . وهمة مهمم
وهذا هنما وكم هذا بسما لهمز ؛
همة ماهما وولحا وموسا حزحلا .
ملهمة هلدهما . ممهمم وهلحباوه
مخختا هذا بسما لهمز ؛ ابالمحب
No. 28 لهمداهمم حوبنا سهما وسحلا وام .
هجومذا وهذاهم حهلا اقا ومدتنا .
ولم ملهمم . مهمم مهتم محجنملا .
ولحلا مهمهز امهمم . وهذه وهم
مهمدهو هذا بسما لهمز ؛ ومنا
fol. CVII الما وهمة . امتا ساهتما * حهجما
ملهمة وايداه هذا هنما هذهم
هذا بسما لهمز ؛ همة همة واسمة
مهتم حزوحا . ومسلا امهمم همهز
همحتة . وهذا وكم همة حزوحا . هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ همومهمم حز مهمله .
واهمه وسلا همحتة . همة ملهمة
محجما واهمه هذا ماقة حجالهمب
هذا بسما لهمز ؛ وحجد وايداه
هذهم وهمتهز همهم والجمه محجنملا

همم مخحما وايداه بحملا واهمه
اموهوم هذا بسما لهمز ؛ وهم همومهمو
همولا همة حجا وهذه همهملا
وسا . هلوفة اما . همة اما .
وهذه مهمله . وهم مسلا وايداه .
وحذاما حاما همهمز حمتهز هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ وهم حاما وهذهمه امتا
مخختا واهمهز بحجا . اذا ومنا .
ولحا همهمز امتا هذا بسما لهمز ؛
ومنذا هذهم همتهة همهوا همهلهم
هلدهما . وحذا وهذه مجهمم لحما
هذا هذا بسما لهمز ؛ وهم وسالا
ومنا . وهم حجا ومنا لم نهما سداه
وهم مهمله وايداه حذاما . هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ همة وحذاما واهمه
واهمهم همجمم واهذهبم همحتة .
هذا بسما لهمز ؛ حهمم سامسا .
حسما هز حاما همحتة اوم همهم
حمهمم ومهمة هز همومهمم هذا
بسما لهمز ؛ همة ولحا همهمة
همة همهمز مسلم . ومنذا هذهم
مرتكما . هذا بسما لهمز ؛ همهم

ܗܘ ܐܚܝ ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ. ܕܒܪܗ
ܫܠܝܛܐ. ܐܢܫ ܕܚܘܝܢܐ ܡܢ
ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܫ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܟ ܠܟ ܠܐ
ܡܢܐ ܚܘܝܢܐ. ܘܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܒܓܝܪ
ܐܡܬܝܢ. ܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܐܒܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ
fol. CVIII ܐܡܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܒܝ * ܕܒܪܗ
ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ ܚܙܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܟ
ܡܢ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ; ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ. ܐܢܫ
ܘܠܐ ܢܒܘ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ. ܐܢܐ
ܐܚܝ. ܐܚܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܓ ܐܢܫ ܘܐ.
ܐܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ; ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܐܒܝ
ܗܘ ܐܚܝ ܐܒܝ. ܐܚܝ ܘܡܢ ܐܢܐ.
ܐܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܐܚܪ ܡܐܬܝ. ܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܐܚܪ ܡܐܬܝ. ܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ; ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܐܒܝ
ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ ܐܒܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ. ܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ; ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܐܒܝ
ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ ܐܒܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ. ܐܢ ܐܢܐ

ܐܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ; ܐܢܫ ܐܢܐ
ܐܚܝ. ܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ ܐܢ
ܐܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ; ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܐܒܝ
ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ ܐܒܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܝ. ܐܢ ܐܢܐ

No. 9
fol. CIX

fol. CX
No. 35

p. 182

p. 183

fol. CXII

fol. CXIII

No. 23

fol. CXIV

fol. CXVI

fol. CXVII

No. 6

ܐܝܬ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ

No. 30

fol. CXX

اوحا. ههمز اوحا. ههمنة حلاة
ومنحا بحدا ههما ،انتا هنما
بسما لهم اهم ؛ وهم حوفهم ومنا
لهوبوا. هوهلم هحنا وملخ. معلا
ههتمه اهن لحقوبسما. هنما بسما
لهمز ؛ ههمز هن هقت ههمف مب
ولمس. هقت مهمم ههقت مهنة
هنة مب مبسما وحا. ومنحا هماقة
وهم معلا اهنهم حوفهم ولبحا
هحناه مهمبا هنما بسما لهمز ؛
وهم ،اهحا هامقهم ولبحا ملهمف
هههنم. وهم حزوهحا هابداه حلما
ههمنة هنة هحكحا هنمم اوحا.
هنما بسما لهمز ؛ هقت وهم مب
ولمس. هنة هقت حزوهحا وهم
مهمسلم اوحا هقت وومنا هاههنزا
همبا وهنحا لحقوبسم هنما بسما
لهمز ؛ حوا هحمحا هابداه ومنحا
هنمم هحلقهم هقت وسا وهمسلا
وحة لسم ههنمم هنما بسما
لهمز ؛ هقت مهسلم هن هلحا حفوحا
هحلقهم لهمس هههنة هههمحا

هههز مهلهمز هنمم هههلمس هههنا
هامهمز هلمس هنما بسما لهمز ،اهنهم
هههمس اهن هقتة معلا هههلم
هههحا. هقة حزوهحا هحنالا مب
بلحا وابداا هنما بسما لهمز ؛ هقت
هههوههمس هابداه هحتههمس هاهن
هلمس. مهمسلم هههلحا حقنما. وهم
مهمسلم هنحاا اوحا مهس مب
لبههمه وححا. هنما بسما لهمز ؛
حزوهحا اوحا هههنمم ابداه. هنمم
معحداه. وهم وممم هقة هممما.
هههمز هنة هنما* بسما لهمز ؛ XL
هههف هنة هممم وحة هلممما
مب هحة. هههن هحتههمس وهم
ملهمف مهمههف اهمز مب هنما
بسما لهمز ؛ هقت هنممم هههقةههههه
هههوا. همحمد هاوم ملهمف. هاما
اهلاقحا. هنما بسما لهمز ؛ هنمم
وهم هههما هحلقهم. هلمس مز
ولبحا مامتنا. اوم حقنما. هههمز
ومنا اهلاوحا. هوهم معلا هقة
وبحاز معاه مامتنا هنما بسما لهمز ؛

No. 16

No. 19

No. 20

No. 25

No. 11

Pl. CXXII

وسا حز ١١٥٨ وحد حسم ٥حزه
٥٤٤ احما وحز حد حاتا ٥٥٤٥
بحما ٥٥٤٤٥ .٥حتوه٥ ٥٤٤ وسا.
٥٤٤ ٥٥٤٥ ومنا . ٥٥٥٥٥ وحاحا
٥حاه٥ا ٥٥٥٥١ حوحتا ابهوتحما.هنا
بحما لهوز ؛ وهم حنح ٥٤٤ ٥ومنا
٥٥٥٥٥٥ . ٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٤٤ احما ٥هبلا
هم ٥٥٥٥٥ لحلا حتح وهم حزه٥٥.
هنا بحما لهوز ؛ احزه٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥.
٥وهم ٥٥٥ ٥٥٤٥ اوحما . الما حز
حنح ٥٥٥٥ .٥٥٥٥٥٥ حزحسحا
٥امبوه ٥٤٤ ٥٥٥٥ وحز حد حاتا.
٥٥٥٥١ حم حربتما . حز حماوه هنا
لبس ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ احم ؛ ٥٥٥٥
٥اوه٥اه ٥٥٥٥١ ٥امربه٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥١
٥٥٥٥٥١ .٤٤ ححيا ٥حنا ٥٥٤٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥ هم٥هبر ٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥ومنا حزه.
هنا بحما لهوز ؛ وهم ٥٥٥٥
ومنا اهه٥٥نا هم الامه حزحا
٥٥٥٥ .٥١١٥٨ هم حد ابحصه
هنا بحما لهوز ؛ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥
حتزما .٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥

fol. CXXIII

٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ الحتاء
٥٥٥٥ بحما لهوز ؛ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ حزا حزححا .٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥ ابحاه ٥حتوه٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥ بحما لهوز ؛ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥.
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥ابحاه ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥
٥وسا ٥٥٥٥١ ٥٥٥٥ ٥احزه٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥ حز ٥٥٥٥٥١ ٥٥٥٥ بحما
لهوز ؛ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥ حد ٥٥٥٥ . وهم احزه٥ ٥وحم
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ابحاه ٥حتوه
احما ٥٥٥٥ .٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ احزه٥
٥زه٥ هنا بحما لهوز ؛ حزه٥٥
ابحاه ٥٥٥٥ ٥حزه ٥٥٥٥١ ٥احما
وسا ٥٥٥٥٥ .حوحم٥ حز ٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥ ابحاه ٥٥٥٥ .الما بحما
لهوز ؛ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ .حبالله ٥٥٥٥
وهم ححما ومنا وحد حاححما احما
٥٥٥٥ . ٥احزه ٥٥٥٥ هنا بحما
لهوز ؛ ٥٥٥٥ ومنا . ومنحا ٥٥٥٥٥
احزه .٥٥٥٥٥ ومنا هم ٥٥٥٥اوحاما
٥٥٥ حز ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥

No. 31

fol. CXXIV

No. 47

No. 48

fol. CXXV

fol. CXXVI

No. 49

ل- من امسه اهنم اهمحنوا
ولهؤلحم.
ـ- من ملكهم حنحا هنؤهلها
وهلحا هؤنححا.
ما- اما هلهم حلف اهنّ وهنحا
واهؤهلهم.

احقا ولا اباه الا جبؤه لحنا ولهبتم
وتحلمهم امامهم:
ا- من ملهم الأهم املهوا
وهؤنححا حهملحن.
ح- من حنحؤنهم حؤحمه هنؤه
والحؤلب.
ـ- من هحمنهم هلهم هنؤه
وحؤحم.
و- من فلهحمحم هلهم هنؤه
وحبالها.
هلحم امامهم احقا واباهم لحمحا
وهؤنححا. هحبا وهنم بهله احقا
واالهمه حهبؤا لحنا هحمنحامهم
لحبا وهنام هنم امه واؤنا.
هبلح تلسم هنمهم حؤحلاه. هبلحه

اف حلاؤقا باؤم واهامهم اما اهنم
ومنا حنحهوم هنم. هاما ومنا احم
حهنم اهؤى هنقم. هحنه حمبا حهنما
ولهحما وحسلا ؤوهما هبها. هولمه
هلهحمامه. حم هلا حهحؤامه هؤلحاه
وحمحبا هنم هلهحمحلهحم هنحلم
وهنوا. حم اباهنه احقا اب مم
هبهحه هؤها هم هبم هنهما هؤنححا
هحهه حنا ابهنهن حؤؤها وحم
حلهحم هحنقهم. حم ابله مب مم
لهبحما هحهه بها ولحا هحهحما
هبم هها وهه وحنا ححمحاه
هحهحنه ححما هاهنا. وحمب لا
حلاوا وحهبهم لله ولحا هاهلهم
هبها. حم اباهمه لحتا واهلهم
هنم هلهحمحم هم هلحن هامتسحا
واله وهلحامه حهبؤا. هاباهتم
هاالهحوه ححقا ؤنهن واالحمه.
هنهم اباحمه هالهحوه حهزلحما
وهلحامه هم حنحهحا وحمحبا
واهلهمهن هنم اهحهلاهم حؤنحهحم
حهنم لحهلاهم هلحهن. حهنم

صفوا وتحدوا أصعدوا وصبر صبر
صحاحها اختا وصعدوه أعنهم صفوه
وصفوا وولحم وصبحا صد أوجر م.

١- ملحا صبحا صفوه وصبر صد أوهو م١٢٨٩م
٢- ملحا لوصا " " وابهلا " أحي م١٢٩٢
٣- وصصصوصص مضحم صبحا صرا ٥امده صر
حدوا صندا صفوه وصبر صبحا لصد
الصفه م١٤٦٦ م.
٤- صوفلصص مضحم لوصا وحلا صبحه
وصبر ووومنا وولحا صر ١٤٦٨ صبحا ١٥٠٨ م
٥- صوفلصص صصحف صبحا صبحا صبحه
وصبر الاصعنف صد ١٥٠٢ م ٥اوصم
صد أنس ١٥٠٨ صبحا ١٥٣٥ م.
٦- صوفلصص مصحف صبحا صبحا صد
أنعر ١٥٤٠ صبحا ١٥٥٠ م.
١١- صوفلصص مصصف الحلا صبحا صد
أبي ١٥٥٣ - ١٥٧٩ م.
٣- صوفلصص حصص الحلا " "
أنصص ١٥٦٧ - ١٥٧١ م.
٤- صوفلصص حاما " " "
الاصعنف صد أبي ١٥٨٣ - ١٥٩٠ م.

٥- صوفلصص أحنص صصصا الاصعنف
صد ١٥٧٨ ٥اوصم لا صندا وصبر
١٥٩٠ - ١٦٧٤ م.
٨- صوفلصص ولسا صوفوصا الاصعنف
١٦٨٠ - ١٦٨٨ م.
٩- امصص نصصه ووومنا الاصعنف
صد ١٧٧٣ - ١٧٨٠ م.
١٠- صوفلصص صصصص ق صوفوصا ص
صنصل ١٧٨٣ - ١٨٠٤ م.
١١- صوفلصص فصصا أصصف وصبر
١٨٠٥ - ١٨١٤ م.
١٢- صوفلصص صلا الصاما سلما أصف
١٨٥٥ - ١٨٦٤ م صس.
١٣- صنصوفصص امدا صبحا ص حلصا
١٨٤٤.
١٤- صلصصصلصص امدا سلما ١٨٥١ - ١٨٥٥ م
صس.
١٥- صنصة امدا صبحا اصبدا وأوامم
١٨٦٨ - ١٨٧٠ م صس.
١٦- صوفلصص صصص لوصا ص ٥اه صفه
وصبر صد ١٨٧٣ صس وص صد أوه
١٨٩٦ م ٥الاصعنف صصبا وولحم.

الممدوح وما سكنا ، ولم هجنه لعندنا
مدحه الله منوبا } ح الحلوف همس
اما هرم الحوا .

ط - الممدوح محمد الحلما وحد
حنيا هرما اصمة وهمزه . وحز
لهرم هد ١٩٦ - ١٩٠ م هس .

ص - لهمداه هد ١١هدا وهم أقام لحد وجها
وم هم لحفوهم صوته لهرب
ولهوفحم الماهنس حنه احنه هرما
هد اربح ة هس هد اربا همسدا
همهلة سعى وهمفوا ماهم الماحز
حابحا .

ع - امدمح ة اهنم اصمحدا حلما
الماهنس هد اربح ة صعى حابت هز
هنه لمالهمدهم اهنم هرما لهرب
ولهوفحم ح حاوف . هس ا حاوفهد
اربح ة ماهز حاهنا هرم لاوا حد
هرتها وحمدا .

ف - فلحمدمدهم الماهم حابحا هم
سحمدمدهم هندا . الماهنس هس
اربحد ة حدا وهنام همدس همهم
حابت هز هنه لمالهمدهم اح هرما

ح حلحمدا اربح هس لحا هنه حالح
وهمكسا ماهحز حاهما فحا حدا وهنه
اهنم واهم .

حه - لهمداه هد ١١هدا هم حد همهلم
هندا الماهنس هد اربحد ة حوصمدمدهم
حابت هز هنه لمالهمدهم اح هرما
لهرم ولهوفحم ح . همهلم . همهم
وهلحمدهندا وهمهم ها احمز هلت
همرف وحلتنا فلحمز منتا همدوهدا
وحمدا مفلحم وهمقط ولهوفحم
همها مفحدا وحا لحلم حلحاك
وحدا همفوما ولاوفحم . هندا ينهنم
حوفحمدهم ، تسلحمدهم حوقحاه . ماللاه
متالحتنا وفلم مملحدا اهم .

No. 51 ماحلم لا بوصحا وحد اتحا وحمدا وهنه
حدالا وحلحم هد اربح ة مبلا مفتسا
سحما امدمح اهنم حلما حابت لهمبره حد
حوفحمدهم وهنحدا حمدمدهم حوقحاما حنهدا
ححزا . لحدا اربحدا وحد همحتب وحلحمدهنه
امدمح لا بحمو فحابا هيحا حنهم ولا مبا .

همحلم

* indicates a note at the end

Derivation:
1 Biblical
2 Aramaic
3 Arabic
4 Greco-Roman
5 Ecclesiastical
6 Persian
7 Unidentified non-Semitic
8 Unidentified Semitic

(N.B. Syriac diminutives in *-un* are frequently added to Arab names; less frequently this occurs with the Syriac ending *-o*. In these cases the name is marked as Arabic only.)

ᵓᶜZZWN (error for ᶜAzīzūn?)
ᵓLWSYᵓ (error for Elūsṭrīya?)*
ᵓLYNYᵓ (from place-name Ōlīn?)
ᵓTBYĞ 78
ᵓYWSY (a form of Joseph?)
ᵓZYD (*cf.* Yazīd?)

ᶜAbbās 3
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān 3
ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz 3
ᶜAbd al-Karīm 3
ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ 3
ᶜAbd Allāh 3
ᶜAlī 3
ᶜĀmīqō 2
ᶜAmr, ᶜAmrūn 3
ᶜArᶜūr 8
ᶜAṭiyyat Allāh 3
ᶜAṭf 3
ᶜAvdō, ᶜAvdūn, ᶜAvdūnō 2
ᶜAyyāš 3
ᶜAvdō da-Mšīḥō 2
ᶜAzīz 3
ᶜAzīzō 2

Aaron (Ahrūn) 1
Ābay 2
Abgar (Avgār) 2
Abḥay 2
Abraham (Abrōhōm), Abram 1
Abū 'l-Faḍl 3
Abū 'l-Fahm 3
Abū 'l-Farᶜ 3
Abū 'l-Faraǧ 3
Abū 'l-Fatḥ 3
Abū 'l-Ḥasan 3
Abū 'l-Hayǧ(aᵓ?) 3
Abū 'l-Ḫayr 3
Abū 'l-MNᵓ, Abū'l-MNeᵓ 38
Abū 'l-Qāsim 3
Abū 'l-Wafaᵓ 3
Abū 'l-Ward 3
Abū Bashīr 3
Abū ᶜAbbas 3
Abū ᶜAlī 3
Abū Ġalib 3
Abū Ḥalīm 3
Abū Isḥāq 3
Abū Manṣūr 3
Abū MSRY 38
Abū Mawrīq (*cf.* Maurice) 34
Abū Naṣr 3
Abū Saᶜd 3
Abū Salīm 3
Abū Saᶜīd 3
Abū Sḥaq (*cf.* Abū Isḥāq) 3
Abū Sahar 3
Abū SYR (read: Abū Yasīr?) 38
Abū Yasīr 3
Abū Zaḫarī 23
Adam (Ōḏom) 1
Addai 2
Aġdīqōs > *ekdikos* 4
Ahiah (ᵓḤYᵓ) 1
Aḥūḏēmēh 2
Aḫsnōyō 2
Alexander (Alexandrōs) 4
Alvan (ᶜAlōn, ᶜAlwōn)* 1

Ananias (Ḥananyō) 1
Anastasius (Anasṭōs) 4
Andrew (ʾNDRYʾ) 1
Anṭīmōs 4
Antony (Anṭōnyōs) 5
Aphrahāṭ 56
Aqāq (Acacius) 4
Ardašīr 6
Asa (Ōsō) 1
Asad 3
Ašmaᶜ-lī 2
Asūr 18
Athanasius (Ăṭānōs) 45
Azariah, ᶜAzar, ᶜAzūr 1

Baᶜūṭ 2
Baradᶜī, Bardaᶜī 2
Barᶜavdūn 2
Barḥaḏbšabō 2
Barneᶜma 28
Barṣawmō 2
Bašīr, Bašrūn 3
Basil (Basēliyōs) 45
Bāsūlō (family) 7
Baṭrīk (from "patriarch")
Behnām 56
Benjamin (Benyāmīn, Bīnē, BʾYN?) 1
Bēṣō, Bēsō, Bīsō 7
BKDʾ 78
Bōssus 56
Brīḫō 2
B-šelyō 2
BṬP 8
BWRHʾ, BRHWN 8
BWRTᶜ 8

Caesar (Qēsār) 4
Chosroes (Ḫesrūn) 6
Christ (Ḫrīsṭō) 145
Christopher (Ḫrīsṭōforōs) 45
Constans (Qūsṭōs, Qūsṭay) 4
Constantine (Qūsṭanṭīn-ē/ōs) 45
Cyriac (Qūryāqōs) 45

Cyril (Qūrīlōs) 45
Cyrus (Qīrōs, *cf.* QWRYS?) 16?

Dalōlō (from dallal?) 3?
Darius (Dāryūš) 6
David (Dāwīd) 1
Dāwūd 13
Dayōnō 2
Denḥō 2
Denis (DYWNSY/WS) 45
Dīmeṭ (*cf.* Dūmaṭ) 45
Dioscorus (Dīyōsqōrōs) 45
Dōḏō 25
Dōmesṭīne 4?
Domnus 4
Doris (from Nisibis) 4
Dūmaṭ (*cf.* Dīmeṭ) 45
Dubays 3
DYSʾM, DYSM 78

Elijah (Ēlīyō) 1
Elisha (Ēlīšaᶜ) 1
Emmanuel (ᶜĀmānūyēl) 1
Enoch (Ḥnūḵ) 1
Ephrem (Afrēm) 15
Epiphanios (ʾPYPYʾNWS) 45
Ezekiel (Ḥazqīyēl) 1

Faraǧ 3
Fuḍayl 3
Furayǧ 3

Gabriel (Gavrīyēl) 15
Ǧaffal (GFʾL), or Ǧafal 3
Ǧaǧīm 78
Gallō 8
Galyō 2
Ġarīb 3
Gawrō 2
Gaye 2
Gāyōsō (GYōSʾ) 2
George (Gēwargīs) 45
Gideon (Giḏᶜūn) 1

Ǧirǧis (George) 34
Gīsō (GiYSᵓ) 2
ǦNZYQ 7
Gregory (Grīgōr-iyōs) 45
Ǧubayr 3
Ǧumᶜa 3
Ǧuslīn, GWSLY (Joscelyn)* 7
Gūḍō 2
Ġundayrō 3
Gūrnō 2

Ḥabaš, Ḥabšūn 3
Ḥabīb 23
Ḥabūrō 2
Ḥaḍbšabō (*cf.* Ḥawšab, Barḥaḍbšabō) 2
Ḥadōḍō 2
Ḥakīm 3
Ḥalaf 3
Ḥalīt 8
Hallel 2
Ḥamdūn 3
Ḥamīs 3
Hamnō (*cf.* woman's name) 78
Ḥamza 3
Ḥaramī (family), Ḥarmī 8
Ḥarkūš 78
Harma 3
Hašmūn 8
Ḥāsīn 2
Ḥāṣīr 2
Ḥasan, Ḥasnūn 3
Hātō 78
Ḥawōḫō 8
Ḥawrān 8
Ḥawrō 2
Ḥawšab (*cf.* Ḥaḍbšābō) 2
Ḥayǧūn (*cf.* Abū'l-Hayǧ) 3
Ḥayrūn 3
Haysam 7
Haytam 7
ḤBBᵓ 8
ḤBNWN 2
Heraclius (Hēraqlī) 4

Ḥēwōrō 2
Hezekiah (Ḥēzaqyō) 1
Hibat Allāh 3
Hišam 3
Ḥnōnō, Ḥnōnūn 2
Ḥōyē* 2
Ḥōyūsūnō 2
HRMNG 7
HRNGYD 7
Ḥsaᵓmaᵓ 78
Ḥṭūṭ 2
Ḥubayš 3
Ḥunayn 3
Ḥūr 2
Hūrmiz 56
Ḥusayn 3

ᶜĪsā 13
ᶜIzūr 8

Ibrāhim, Brāhim 13
Ignatius (Īġnāṭiyōs) 45
Isaac (Isḥōq) 15
Isaiah (Ēšaᶜyō) 15
Ishmael (Išmaᶜēl) 1
Iskandar 34
Isidore (Īsōḏōrō) 45
Israel (Īsrayēl) 1
Iwānīs, Iwānī 45

Jacob (Yaᶜqūv) 15
Jeremiah (Eramyō) 1
Jesse (Īšay) 1
Job (Ēyūv) 1
Jobab (Ḥubōv) 1
John (Yūḥannōn, Ḥannē, Ḥannō, Ḥannū) 125
Jonas (Yūnas) 1
Jonah (Yawnōn) 1
Jonathan (Yōnāṯan) 1
Joshua/Jesus (Yēšūᶜ) 15
Josiah (Yūšīyō) 1
Jovian (Yūvīnīyanōs) 4
Julian (Yūlīyanōs) 45

Justin (Yūsṭīn) 45
Justinian (Yūsṭīniyānē) 4
Justus (Yūsṭōs) 45

KʾNH 8
Kafarzwa 28
Kalbūn (*cf.* Kulayb) 2
Kamāl 3
Karmūn 2
KDRŠH 6
Kīnō 2
Kosmas (QWZMʾ) 45
Košrūn 2
KŠTL 7
Kulayb 3
Kundiš (*cf.* kunduš) 3
Kurik 7
Kutlō 2?
KWDYS 8
KYLBʾYK 7
KYŠLNBʾ 7

Lazarus (Lᶜozōr) 15
Leo (Lēwōn) 4
Levi (Lēwī) 1
Luke (Lūqō) 1

Maᶜmḏōnō 25
Mahdī 3
Mahrūb 3?
Malkē, Malkūn 2
Malyō 2
Mandīsō (family) 78
Manīᶜ 3
Manṣūr* 3
Mārīnō 4
Mark (Marqōs) 1
Mārōn, Mārūnō 2
Marwān 3
Marzūq 3
Masᶜūd 3
Maṭrūḥ 3
Matthew (Matay) 15

Maurice (Mawrīqī) 4
Mawhab 2
Maymūn 3
Melchizedek 1
Micah (Mīḫō) 1
Mīrzā (MYRZʾ) 6
Mishael 1
Mleḫyešūᶜ* 2
MNDʾ 78
MNDWŠ 78
Mōravō 25
Mōrawgīn, Marawgē (Mōr + Eugenios) 245
Mōrᶜavdō 25
Mōrdōḏ 25
Mōrḥoyē* 2
Mōrsōvō 25
Mōrūnō 2
Mōrūthō* 2
Mōryešūᶜ 12
Mōryōhev 2
Moses (Mūšē) 15
MRBN 78
MRNNKʾ (read: Mōrānzōḫē 2?)
MRQYʾ (*cf.* Marcion) 4?
MRZYNʾ 78
Mubārak 3
Mufliḥ 3
Muḥsin 3
Muḫtār 3
Mūlōḫō 2
Mundar 3?
Muʾnis 3
Muqbil 3
Murağğaḥ 3
Mūsā 13
Musabbal 3?
Musallaʾ 3
Muyassar 3
Myrōdēs (Mīrōḏīs) 4
MYSR 78
MZZʾ (with *shadda*) 3?

Naba 78

Nahum (Naḥūm) 1
Nağī 3
Naǧm al-Dīn 3
Naǧmō 3
Narsay 2
Naṣīr 3
Naṣr, Naṣrūn 3
Nicholas (NYQWLᵉ°) 45
Nīḥ 2
Nīsōn 2
Noah (Nūḥ) 1
Nonnos (Nōnō) 4
Nqīm 2
Nuᶜaym 3
Numayr 3
Nuṣayr 3

Patrick (Paṭrīq) > patrikios 4
Paul (Pawlōs, Pawlē) 1
Peter (Peṭros, Peṭrē), Petrūnō 1
Philip (Fīlīpōs) 1
Phokas (Fūqō) 4
Photios (Foṭiyos) 4
Pinḥes 2
PKR° 8
PRKKŠ° 7
PRSWN 2

Qārō* 7
Qablō 2
Qadī-šmō 2
Qadūrī 3
Qammūqō (family) 8
Qamṣūn 2
Qarᶜōnō 2
Qardeš 7
Qarwiṭ 78
Qāšīš 2
Qāsim 3
Qaṭīn 2
Qawme 2
Qōyūmō 2
Qṭīlō 2

Qūfar 78
Qūrmō 2
QWRYNY (Cyrene, *cf.* Simon?) 14
QWRYS (*cf.* Cyriac, Cyrus/QYRWS) 7
Qurayš (family) 3
Qūsō 78
QYMRY (from Qaymar?) 3?
Qayṣar (Caesar) 34

Rābūlō 2
Rabīᶜ 3
Rahib, Rahbūn 3
Reuben (Rūvēl) 1
ᶜRūvṭō, ᶜRWBY 2
Rḥīmō 2
RḤYN 8
Romanus (Rūmānōs) 4
Rūmīs 7
Rvaḥ 2
RYSWN 8

Sabrūn 2
Saᶜdūn 3
Ṣafōnō (nickname) 2
Sahil (Sᵓ HL), Sahlān, Sahlūn 3
Saḥqūn (dim. of Isaac) 2
Ṣalībī (Jacob bar Ṣalībī, exegete) 3
Salmon 1
Sālōrō > sakellarios? 24
Samuel (Šmūyēl) 15
Sanad 3
Sanyō 2
Sapor (Šōbūr) 6
Saqō 2
Saqṭūn 2
Saul (Šāwōl) 1
SBWNᵓ 2
Saᶜīd 3
Sergius, Sargūnō 45
Seth (Šēṭ) 1
Severus (Sēwīrē) 45
Šabō 2
Šaᶜbūn 3

Šaᶜwō 3
Šahlō 3
Šoḥārō 2
Šalaq 3
Šalbūn 2
Šalīṭo 2
Šamᶜ 3
Šamal 3
Šamᶜīl 3
Šamlī 2
Šāmeš 2
Šāmošō, Šāmoš 2
Šams al-Dīn 3
Šamsō 3
Šangūlō 78
Šaraf 3
Šattā 3
Šay Allāh 3
Šaybān 3
Šaynō (ŠYNᵓ; *cf.* Šīna) 2
Šayōdūnō 2
Shem 1
Shīlō 2
Simeon (Šemᶜūn) 15
Šīnā (ŠYNᵓ) 2
Šlīḥō 2
Slīq 2
Ṣlīvō 2
SLMᵓ 78
ŠMMᵓ 78
ŠMRLY (Šamar-lī?) 2
SNDᵓ, SNDY ("Sande"?) 78
SNDK 78
SNDN 78
Sōfrō 2
Sōhḏō 2
Solomon (Šlemūn) 1
Sōvō 25
ṢPNᵓ (read: ṢPNYᵓ = Zephaniah?) 1
SPRWD, SPRWRD, SPRWYD 7
ŠRᵓD 78
Stephen (Stefānos), STPNYᵓ, STPWNYᵓ? 15
STRYᵓ (*cf.* Ēlustrīya)* 4?

Šuᶜayb (= Jethro) 13
Ṣubḥ 3
Šubḥō 2
Sublay 8
Sūdān and SaWDN? (family) 3
Sufē 78
Šufnī 2
Suǧdin 78
Suhayl 3
Sukīle 78
Sulayman 13
Sūlōqō 2
Sūra 78
Surayǧ 3
Šurqaᶜ 8
Suwayd, Suwaydān 3
SWGRD 7
ŠYNBYN 7
SYSN, SYSNᵓ, SYSYN (Sisinnios)* 45

Tabrīk 3
Talolō 2
Ṭalyō 2
Tamīm 2
Tasman 7
Ṭawīl 3
Ṭayyib, Ṭaybūn 3
Temrō 2
Theodore (T̲ēwādōre/-os) 45
Theodotus (T̲ēwāḏuṭe) 45
Theologos (T̲ēwālōgos) 45
Theophilus (T̲ēwāfīle) 45
Thomas (Tūmā) 15
Tiberius (Ṭivērīyō) 4
Timothy (Ṭīmōṭewōs) 45
ṬKWS ? > takhys 4
Ṭlīmō 2
Tumma (family) 8
Ṭurāniyya (family) 3
Turkan (*cf.* woman's name) 7
Ṭūvōnō 2
TWGY 78
ṬWRMK 7

TYSʾ 78

ᶜUbayd, ᶜUbayda 3
ᶜUqayl 3
ᶜŪmar 3
ᶜUmo 8
ᶜUrbala 8
ᶜUrbī 8
ᶜUṯān 8
ᶜUzayz, ᶜUzayyiz 3
Uriah (Ūryō) 1

Vahrām 6
ᶜVedyešūᶜ 2
ᶜVīḍō 2

Wahbūn 3
Walīd 3
ᶜWZYʾ (ᶜŪzōyō? *cf.* Daniel ᶜŪzōyō)* 2

Yahbo 2
Yamlīḫō (Jamblichus) 2
Yāqīrō 2
Yazīd, Yazdō 3

Zakāy 2
Zanbūr, Zanbūrō 7
Zaqqāqī (family) 8
Zaydān 3
Zaydūn 3
Zaynō* 2
Zaytūn 2
Zebedee (Zavdī) 1
Zechariah (Zḫaryō, Zaḫarī) 1
Zokhē (Nicolas) 2
Zqīfō* 2
Zruqa 8
Zurayq 3
Zᶜūrō 2
Zūṭō 2
Zvīno 2
ZYDNDYN (Zayn al-Dīn?) 3

End of the men's names

G.2. The Book of Life, Gazetteer: Notes on Men's Names (p. 1 of 1)

1. ʾLWSYʾ: see SṬRYʾ, below.

2. Alvan: In *Monk and Mason*, pp. 220-1, I followed Pognon in writing ᶜUlwan, and stated it was a rare name; it comes from Genesis 36:23.

3. Ġundayrō: Ġandūr was perhaps the name of the Arab raider-chieftain mentioned in *Monk and Mason*, p. 166.

4. Ḥōyē: On this name see Palmer (1986), pp. 58-60.

5. Ǧuslīn: There were two Crusader Counts of Edessa called Joscelyn in the early twelfth century.

6. Manṣūr: In *Monk and Mason*, p. 13, there is a reference to M., the son of Marzūq, of Bēṯ Svīrīna.

7. Mleḫyešūᶜ: This eastern-sounding name belonged to a native of Balad, Iraq.

8. Mōrḥōyē: See Ḥōyē, above.

9. Mōrūtho: "Lordship": this was the name of a monk, perhaps adopted at his religious profession.

10.Qārō: It is just possible that this is the Italian "caro"; Giosofatte Barbaro was only one of the ambassadors from Italy who courted Uzūn Ḥasan (1454-1478) in "Caramit" (Diyarbekir) and Mardin (Minorsky, "Uzūn Ḥasan" and Woods 1976). One of the women's names in the *Book of Life* may be Teresa.

11.SṬRYʾ: On the name Ēlūṣṭriyā see *Monk and Mason*, pp. 165-7 and Palmer (1987), p. 121.

12.SYSN: This obliges me to qualify what I said in *Monk and Mason*, p. 155 n. 44!

13.ᶜWZYʾ: See *Monk and Mason*, p. 12 n. 55.

14.Zaynō: The owner of this name was from Mossul.

15.Zqīfo: "The Crucified"; this was almost certainly a name taken by this monk at his religious profession (*cf.* Mōrūṭō, above).

N.B. There is a notable frequency of Arabic names; derivations from other languages are specified.

ᶜAzīza ("dear")
ᶜAzza ("dear")

Ba(r)ṯqyōmō (Syriac: "daughter of the Covenant")
Badra ("full moon")
Baḫtiyya ("lucky")
Balgīn(a) ?
Barbāra
Bārida ("cold", for "Badra"?)
Beṯlḥēm (= Bethlehem, or Syriac: "house of bread")
Buṯay (Buṯayna?)

Dallāla ("dallier", or ("matchmaker")
DNKWS (*cf.* Greek: donax, "a reed", and donakeus, "a reed-bed, a fowler"?)

Ēlišbaᶜ = Elizabeth

Farḥa ("joy")

Ġāliya ("precious", also a kind of perfume)

Ḥalwāᵓ ("sweet")
Ḥamnō (*cf.* man's name)
Ḥanā = Anne
Ḥasnāᵓ ("beautiful")
Ḫatūn (Turkish: "lady")
Ḥayṯam (*cf.* man's name)
Helanī = Helen

Karīma ("noble")
Kumayma (dim. of kimm: "calyx", "perianth" ?)

Maḫdūmaᵓ ("a lady with servants")
Malkṯō (Syriac: "queen")
Minna ("grace")
Maryam = Mary
Mubāraka ("blessed")
Marmā ("aim" ?)
Mōrṯō = Martha

Mūlkā (*cf.* Syriac: mūlkonō, "promise")

Nasama ("breath")
Nōsrāṯ (= Nazareth, or read: nasrāṯ, Syriac: "she sang")

Rōḥēl = Rachel
Rūmiyya ("a girl from Rūm, the Christian West")
Rūmā (*cf.* the foregoing)
Ruwaysa ?

Sāra
Sayyida, Saydō ("lady")
Šaᶜwāᵓ ("devastating")
Šahlāᵓ ("having bluish-black eyes")
Šamila ("complete", "pervasive")
Šarō (*cf.* Syriac šarō, "begin!", to a man)
Šīrā (*cf.* Syriac: šīrō, "silk")
ŠMNᵓ (*cf.* Syriac: šōmnō = "she grows fat")
Šmūnī (Syriac name for the mother of the seven boy-martyrs in II Maccabees, ch. 7)
Šolum ?
Šūfnay (name of the sister of Malke of Clysma, in the Syriac tale, Leg. Malke)
Sulṯūn ("dim." of Sulṯān?)
Šūšan = Susan

Tamām ("wholeness")
Ṯimār ("fruits")
Turkan (Turkish)
Turayza (not Arabic; perhaps from Teresa?)

Umaydšāh (Persian: "hope-king"?)

Zīna ("adornment")

End of the Women's Names

A = Anschütz (1984); B1,2 = Barṣawm (1943), pp. 504-20, Barṣawm (1964), pp. 28-34; D = Dolapönü (1954); H = Van Helmond (1942); G1,2 = Göyünç (1969, 1974); K = Krüger (1938); M = Bell/Mango (1982), pp. 99-157; S = Socin (1885); W = Wiessner (1981-83)

? - ʾḤōyō
ʾSPLWS

ᶜArabān - ᶜRBNōyō (A,B2,W)
? - ᶜARWNōyō
? - ᶜARWōyō
ᶜAṭafiyya (B2) - ᶜṬPōyō (near Ḥesnō d-Kifō)
ᶜAwīnē, ᶜWaynē (A,B2,S,G1)
ᶜAynwardō*, ᶜĒwardō - ᶜYNWRDNōyō, ᶜYWRDNōyō, ᶜWRDNōyō (A,B2,G2,S,W)

Afšaḥ ?(A,B2,S)
Aġūrsō - ʾGWRSōyō
[?Alaṭ (S)] - Aldōyō
Anḥēl - NḤLōyō (A,B2,G2,K,S,W)
Anḥēl, in Arzōn (Nḥēl)
Arbō - ʾRBōyō (A,B2,S,W)
Arkāḥ - ʾRKḤōyō (Ḥarabalī) (A,B2,M,S)
Āwō (in Maᶜdān) (D)
Āzaḥ - ʾZKōyō (A,B2,S)
Azzī

[Babīš > Beṭ Bayšan* (near Yardō)] - Bayšōyō (B2)
BaʾKYLH
Balad - BLDōyō (B1)
Barṭillē - BRṬLōyō (B1)
Bāsīlē (G1?)
Beṭ Dēbē (A,B2,S,W)
Beṭ Dīyupē* (= Beṭ Dēbē) (B2)
Beṭ GRBQ
Beṭ Ḥesrik (B2, D?)
Beṭ Iṣḥoq - SḤQōyō, Iṣḥoqōyō (A,B2,S,W)
Beṭ Manᶜem - MNᶜMōyō (A,B2,H,S,W)
Beṭ Mōdhōyē
Beṭ Qūsnōyō*
Beṭ Qūsṭān - QWSṬ(N)YNōyō, QWSNōyō (A,B2,S,W)
Beṭ Šaṭōyō (*cf.* Šaṭ)
Beṭ Svīrīna/Svīrīnōs - SBYRYNōyō (A,B2,K,M,S,W)

Beṭ SWPʾ
Beṭ TYGʾ
Beṭ Zrīzō - ZRYZōyō (B2)
[Bīlū] - BYLōyō* (B2)
Botē - BTōyō (A,B2,G2,S,W)
Buḫayra
Bursam
? - Būšōyō
Būsīnō

Dayrō - see also ᶜŪmrō
Dayrō ḏ-Bar Paṭrīq
Dayrō ḏa-Fnōṭ (Mōr Aḥō, Pūē) (A,B2,K,S)
Dayrō ḏ-Ḥesnō Ḥḏatō*
Dayrō ḏa-Kfōnē (near Zāz) (A,B2,K,S,W)
Dayrō ḏ-Beṭ Manᶜem (*cf.* Dayrō ḏ-Mōr Abḥay) (B2,W:"ābay")
Dayrō ḏ-Beṭ Mūzō ?(S)
Dayrō ḏ-Mōr Abḥay (*sc.* at Beṭ Manᶜem) (B2,W:"Ābay")
Dayrō ḏ-Mōr Ḥvīšō(yō) (*i.e.* Dayrō ḏ-Mōr Jacob the Recluse at Salaḥ) (B1,B2,H,G2,K,S,W)
Dayrō ḏ-Mōr Malkē (near Arkāḥ) (A,B1,G2,K,M,S,W)
Dayrō ḏ-Qarnō* ("the monastery of the horn", outside Beṭ Dēbē) (B2,W)
Dayrō ḏ-Qēleṭ (*i.e.* Dayrō ḏ-Mōr Ābay) (B1,K,W)
Dayrō ḏa-Ṣlīvō = "of the Cross" (nearᶜArbay) (A,B1,B2,H,K,M,S,W)
Dayrō ḏ-ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Gabriel (A,B1,B2,?G2:Deyr-ı Šemᶜūn,M,S,W)
Dayrō Ḥḏatō (near ᶜŪr(d)nūs)
Dayrūnīṭō ("the little monastery", on the plain)
? - DDōyō (from a place called "Beṭ Dōḏō"?)
Defnē - DPNōyō (near Ḥesnō d-Kifō) (A,B2,S,W)
"The Desert of Egypt"*
Dōrō (Dara) - DRōyō (A,B1,H,M,S,W)
Dunaysir (= Kızıltepe, just south of Mardīn)

Egypt, the Coptic Church - MṢRōyō, ʾYGWPṬōyō
Ēlīn - ʾLōyō (A,B2,S)
ᶜErmūnē - ᶜRMWNōyō (B2,S)
Espes (Hespist, ?Hiaspis) - Sefsōyō (A,B1,S,W)
Eštarkō (Hešterek) - ʾŠTRKōyō (A,B2,M,S)
Estīr (ı-Sārī) (A,B2,M,S,W)

Fāfeḫ* (A,B2,M,W)
Fanek Castle (A,B2,H)
Fofyāṭ (Kafarbēh) - PPYōyō (A,B2,M,S,W)

? - Gedlōyō ?(A)
Gūmbīše (B2)
Ğūmkiyya
Gūrnē (B2)
? - GWHŠKoyō
[Koruk] - GWRGōyō (G1)
? - GWRNŠoyō
? - GWRSōyō (*cf.* Āgūrsō)
Gzīrto (Ğazīrat b.ᶜŪmar, Cizre) - GZYRōyō (A,B1,H)

? - ḤBēŠōyō
? - HBTKōyō
? - ḤŠWLōyō
Ḥabsenus/Ḥabsus - ḤBSNWSōyō, ḤBSōyō (A,B2,M,S,W)
Ḥabūr
Ḥaḥ - Ḥ²Ḥōyō (A,B2,H,M,S,W)
Ḥalaḥ - ḤaLḤōyō (A,S)
Ḥarbṭo ḏ-Tūṭo
Hataḫ* - HTKōyō (B1,H)
Ḥaṭlib (B2)
Havnaṭ - (HaBNToNōyō) (B2)
Haytam Castle* (A,S)
Ḥazniyya (B2)
Ḥēdel - ḤDLōyō (A,B2,S,W)
Ḥesnō ḏ-Ziyād (B1)
Ḥesnō ḏ-Kīfō - ḤSNōyō(A,B1,B2,G2,S,W)
Ḥesnō ḏ-Šūᶜō (B2)
Ḥmēṣ (Ḥomṣ, also "Phoenike")
Ḥmōṭ (Ḥama, Syria)
Ḥorōn (Ḥarrān) - ḤRNōyō
ḤRRYN ?(B1: reading Ḥardīn)
Ḥvōv* - ḤBBōyō (A,B2,G2,S,W)

Jerusalem

Kafrō - KPRōyō (A,B2,S,W)
? - Karšnōyō
Kartwōyṭō* (Kartwen, in the plain of Nisibis) - KRTWNōyō, KRTWōyō (G1?)
Kafarbōbō - KPRBBōyō (B2)
Kafarᶜarab - KPRᶜRBōyō ?(A,B2,S)
Kafarḫwār (A,B2)
Kafarğawsī (Kafar Gawsō, Gercüş) (A,B2,S)
Kafarsalṭē - KPRSLṬōyō (B2)
Kafaršamaᶜ* - KPRŠMᶜōyō (B2,K,S)

Kafarzē - KPRZōyō (A,B2,M,S,W)
Kelšaṭ - KLŠōyō (B2)
Kendirib (A)
Kīvāḫ - KYBKōyō (A,B2,S,W)
? - KRNTōyō

Maᶜdan* (B1,D)
Magdlō
Mansūriyya (A,B1,G1)
Mardīn - MRDNōyō(A,H,G1,G2,M,W)
Mᶜarē - MᶜRōyō (A,B2,S,W)
MaRQ (city)
Mašqūq (near Mardīn) (G1)
Mayperqaṭ? - PRQṬōyō (B1,M)
Mazraᶜṭō* ?(A,B1,B2,D?,S)
Medyād (Midyāt) - MōDYōyō (B2,H,G2,M,S,W)
Melitene - MYLYṬYNōyō (B1)
Meštīn (B2,W)
Middō, Mīdūn - MōDWōyō (A,B2,S,W)
Morbōbō - MRBBōyō (A,B2,S)
Mossul - MWSLōyō
? - MṬōyō
Mᵉzīzaḫ - MYZaḤōyō (A,B2,S,W)

Nōṭfō (*i.e.* Dayrō ḏ-Yōldaṭ alōhō ḏ-Nōṭfō, near Mardīn?) (A,B1,K,W)
Nṣībīn (Nisibis) - NṢYBYNōyō (A,B1,H,G1,G2,M)
Nūnib - NWNBōyō, NWNoBōyō (sic) (A,B2,S)
NWG² (B2)

Ōlīn - ²LYōyō (B2)
Ōliyīn ḏ-Ḥadōḏē (*cf.* Ōlīn)
Ōmīdh (Amida) - ²MDōyō (B1,H,M)
Ōsār - ²SRōyō (S)

Phoenike, *i.e.* Ḥomṣ, in Syria
? - PRDōyō
PRYR* (= Pīr, Fīl?) (S,W)
PWMBṬ (in Armenia)

Qalᶜat al-Marᵓa, Qelᶜō ḏ-A(n)ṭṭo (A,B2,G1,S,W)
Qalūq* - QLWQōyō (B2,G1,K)
Qarqaṭ
Qartmīn - QRTMYNōyō (A,B2,M,S)
Qaṣrō ḏ-PDN (*cf.* Qāṣūr) (B2)

Qaᵓ$T
Qaṣūr* (B1,G1)
Qelet - QLTōyō (A,B1,G1,K,S,W)
Qelᶜō Ḥdatō* (A,S)
Qeᶜūrbo (Qēn ᶜŪrbo*, above ᶜĪlūz)
Qlawdīya (B1)
QᵓRWY
Qurayya - QWRYōyō, QaRYōyō (B2)
? - QPWḤōyō
QRQṬ, read Perqaṭ (*cf.* Mayperqaṭ)?
QWRḤH
QWYM

Rūmānōs* ?(B1)
Ruṣayn, Ruẓwān ?(B1,B2,D,S)

? - ŠaᶜBōyō
SaḤSMN
Ṣalaḥ - ṢLḤōyō(A,B2,H,G2,M,S,W)
Ṣalīyīn
Šamᶜ
Šamanzāḥ, Šamznaḥ* (B2,D)
Sansūl - SNSLōyō (B2)
Šaṭ* ?(S)
Ṣawrō - ṢWRōyō(A,B1,B2,G1,G2,S,W)
ṢDD (in Syria)
Šemšām (H: near Zarğel)
Sᶜerd (Siirt) (B1,D)
Šḫīm (*cf.* Shechem?)
Sīdūs (near Tabrīz)
Šīğōr (Sinğār, Singara) - ŠYGRōyō (B1)
Sīmandū (in Anatolia) (B1)
? - ŠKPōyō
Šōḫartō (B2)
Šōqōyō
SPaSTN
? - ṢPNōyō
SPRSK
Šūrisbāḥ (A,B2,S)
SWDYR = Estīr (ɪ-Sārī)?
SYSMN

Ṭaᵓban
Tagrīt - TGRYTNōyō (B1)

Ṭarābulūs (in Phoenicia)
Telbesmē, Telbesmī* (B1,G1,K)
Tēlō d-Arsīnōs* (B1)
Teṭo - TēTōyō (B2)
TLDRᵓ (Qanaq or Ğarbiyya)*
Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn (A,B1,B2,H,M,S,W)
Tūrsqōnō -TWRSQoNōyō (B2)
TWLYL
TYMRZḤ* (A,B2,S)

ᶜŪmrō - see also Dayrō
? - ᶜWMRōyō
ᶜŪmrō d-Bar GᵓGY
ᶜŪmrō d-BᵓDR
ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Ananias* (A,B1,H,K,M,W)
ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Barṣawmō (B1)
ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Matthew (B1)
ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Samuel* ?(A,B1,B2,?K,M,S)
ᶜŪr(d)nus (Arnas) - ᶜWRDNSōyō, ᶜWRNSōyō (A,B2,G2,M,S,W)
Ūrhōy (Edessa) - ᵓWRHōyō (B1,M)

ᶜWaynē (ᶜAwīnē) (B2)

Zanzɪq,in Maᶜdān (D)
Zarğēl - ZRGLōyō* (B1,D,H,M)
Zāz - ZᵓZōyō (A,B2,H,G2,S,W)
ZBBᵓ (in Armenia)
ZBDYQNᵓ* (Zabdicene?) - [ZBDYQNYᵓ] (B2)
Zrᶜṭō (*cf.* Mazraᶜṭō)
ZrōᶜṭO d-Zaytē* (B2)
ZrōcṭO d-ᵓĀᶜṭš

End of the place-names

1. ᶜAynwardō - ᶜWRDNōyō: For this form of the adjective, *cf.* Palmer (1987), p. 65f.

2. Bāsīlē - The only place near Mardin with a remotely similar name, as far as can be seen from Göyünç (1969), base-map, is Deyr Basiyye. A monastery of Mōr Šīlō is known from the history of this region. Without much confidence I suggest the following hypothetical derivation: dayrō ḏ-bēṯ mōr šīlō :: dayrō ḏ-bēṯ šīlō :: dēr bē/ba-šīlē :: bāsīlē/deyr basiyye.

3. Bēṯ Bayšan - The identification with Bābīš is Gülten's; the full form of the name is given by Barṣawm.

4. Bēṯ Diyūpē: B.N. syr. 41, on which see Zotenberg (1874), p. 14, was copied at the monastery of Mōr Jacob the Teacher on Mount Īzlō, near the village of Bēṯ Diyūpē; my note below on "Dayrō ḏ-Qarnō" shows that this is another form of Bēṯ Dēbē.

5. Bēṯ Qūsnōyō: This is not an adjective; I suggest tentative identification with Bakısyan near Nusaybin, because Bēṯ Qusṭān near Ḥaḇ, though also called Bakısyan, is not elsewhere written without the ṬETH.

6. [Bīlū] - BYLōyō: The name is supplied by Barṣawm as that of a village in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, so it must be distinguished from Bīlū, next to Pīlīn on the river Arsenias/Mūrāt (Damascus 12/18, fol. 62b.1, in *L. Theodotos*), the modern Palū.

7. Dayrō ḏ-Ḥesnō Ḥḏātō: The MS unfailingly has a point above the DOLATH of Ḥḏātō, suggesting to me that it should be read as a feminine adjective: the New Monastery of Ḥesnō [ḏ-Kīfō], as opposed to the other Dayrō Ḥḏatō near ᶜŪr(d)nus, *q.v.*

8. Dayrō ḏ-Qarnō: "The monastery of the Mother of God and of Mōr Jacob and of Mōr Dīmeṯ, which is known as that of the Horn (d-Qarnō), which is in the village of Bēṯ Dēbē on Mount Īzlō" (Barṣawm 1964, p.33). Bishop Timothy Aktaş of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn told me that this is the Monastery of Mōr Jacob the Teacher, bishop of Srūḡ (*cf.* n. 4, on Bēṯ Diyūpē).

9. "The Desert of Egypt": Until the sixteenth century, many Ṭurᶜabdinian monks did a stint at the Mesopotamian monastic colony, Dayr al-Suryān, properly called the "Monastery of the Mother of God", in the Wādī 'l-Naṭrūn (Evelyn White 1932).

10. Fafeḥ: Sometimes confused with Fofyaṯ, this village was made known by Bell (Bell/Mango 1982, pp. 28-9) in the form Fafi; but the Turkish map from which Anschütz's base-map is copied gives Fafih. This source does not write "h" unless it is clearly audible (contrast *e.g.* Şorozbah with Keferbi). The confusion in Barṣawm (1964, p. 30) is due to poor editing.

11. Hataḫ: "A fortress and a region north of Mayperqaṭ in Şophanene; people call it Antaḫ." (Barṣawm 1943, p. 520)

12. Haytam Castle: The former Castle of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, on which see Barṣawm (1964), pp. 22-8, and *Monk and Mason*, pp. 4-7, with the photograph on the cover (*cf.* Qelᶜō Ḥḏatō, below).

13. Ḥvōv: Now pronounced, as Socin (1885, p. 255) says: "äḫwō".

14. Kartwōytō: Written in one place, perhaps by mistake, as "Kartwōyōṯō", though without the dots of the plural.

15. Kafaršāmaᶜ: The site is now occupied by a barracks, just north of Midyat; Socin (1885, p. 260) is wrong to place it one hour to the south of Midyat - so, at least, Gülten told me. The village contained the Monastery of Mōr Šarbēl and Mōr Jacob the Teacher, of Srūḡ (Barṣawm 1964, p. 34).

16. Mazraᶜṯō: The references are made on the basis of a very conjectural identification with Maᶜsartē/Ömerli; only Dolapönü names Mezrares in the province of Siirt..

17. Maᶜdān: "A region in the quarter of Šerwān in the province of Sᶜert." (Barṣawm 1943, p. 519)

18. Meštīn: Both *Monk and Mason*, p. 20, and the Qelethites there quoted are wrong: Meštīn is half-way between Mardīn and Midyat, 7 km south of Fafiḥ, 30 km from Mardīn and 30 km from Ṣawrō. Barṣawm may be right to identify it with Eštīn.

19. Ōlīn - There was one Ōlīn near Zāz (not marked on the map) and another near Arbō, though this may be Elīn. On the other hand Ēlīn may be Ālīn, near the Tigris to the east of Ḥesnō ḏ-Kīfō.

20. PRYR: For Fīl pronounced "Fīr" see Socin (1885), p.242, and the legend of Mōr Dōḏō, as written in the 15th century (pp. 272-3 of the MS in the possession of the Demir family in Kirchardt): "The monastery of the Valley of Gehenna, which was built under the invocation of the holy Mōr Dōḏō in the canyon of the village of Espes in the province of Pīr."

21. Qalūq: "A village in the province of Ṣawrō, where Christians lived in the mid-seventeenth century." (Barṣawm 1943, p. 518) The ruins can be seen in the valley-bottom between Ṣawrō and Qēleṯ. It is mentioned in the fifteenth-century narrative of *L. John bar Shayallah*, *e.g.* fol. 83b, and in *Chr. Zuqnin 774*, p. 164, with reference to the seventh century.

22. Qelᶜō Ḥḏatō: Yaqūt, vol.2, p. 42 has an entry on "Ǧudayyida Castle" between Nisibis and Mossul, the lands of which were contiguous with those of Ḥesnō ḏ-Kīfō. It was "usually" under Mossulite control and possessed well-drained arable (ᶜaḏy); moreover it was very well fortified. The Turkish 1:200,000 map of 1948 labels the site of Haytam Castle as Gelhacedidi, but *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol 193b, p. xxxiv, distinguishes Haytam clearly from the "New Castle". Bishop Timothy of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn showed me the site of the latter between Bēṯ Dēbē and Mōrbōbō, near the summit of Mount Bagokke (Bakuk on the Turkish map, formerly Bēṯ Gawgal: *cf. Monk and Māson*, p. 29). It is surprising that Yaqūt has no entry on Haytam Castle, which had better arable, stronger fortifications, and more history: perhaps, like the Turkish cartographer, he confused two sites on the same inaccessible mountain chain? Ǧudayyida (vocalised by Wüstenfeld as Ǧudayda) is the diminutive of ǧadīda, "new"; but Yaqūt says the castle was old (qadīma). Haytam was certainly old; indeed, it predated the Arabs, so it is hard to see how they could ever have called it new; but nothing is heard of Qelᶜō Ḥḏatō before the fifteenth century (*Chr. Addai 1503*).

23. Qēn ᶜŪrbō, above ᶜĪlūz: Information from Gülten; for Īlōze, two hours east of Kafar Gawzō, see Socin (1885), p. 266.

24. Qaṣūr: "Qaṣūr, also called Ǧūliyya, a village to the south of Mardīn at a distance of two hours." (Barṣawm 1943, p. 518)

25. Rūmānōs: Barṣawm (1943) gives Bārūmān(ā) as well as Rūmānā and Rūmāniyya; B.N. syr. 54 was copied in AD 1192 by a native of Rūmānā, for a native of ᵓLYN (Zotenberg 1874, p. 20).

26. Šaṯ: Socin (1885), p.261, has Sat or Zat, one and a half hours south-west of Kafarᶜallab, but this may be Kafarzūṭō, with a ṬETH (*cf.* Bēṯ Šaṭōyē); other candidates: Sadi, near Bahremli, and Sada, near Fafih; the latter is more likely.

27. Šamanzaḫ, Šamznaḫ: Barṣawm (1964, p. 30) has ŠMNZ.

28. Telbesmē, Telbesmī: Known in the eighth century as Tell Bešmay (see *Monk and Mason*, p. 170 n. 181); Barṣawm (1943, p. 505) has the short form, Tel Bism, also, and adds: "It is in the region of Diyār Rabīᶜa and in that of Šabaḫtān, to the north-west of Mardīn."

29. Telō d-Arsīnōs: "Tel Arsanius" in Barṣawm (1943), on the river Mūrāt.

30. TLDRᵓ: The information comes from Gülten.

31. TYMRZḤ: Barṣawm has TMRZ as well (*cf.* Socin 1885: Tämärz).

32. ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Ananias: Dayr al-Zaᶜfarān, near Mardīn.

33. ᶜŪmrō d-Mōr Samuel: If this is Qartmīn Abbey, it is an isolated case of this appellation.

34. Zarǧēl: "A large village in Bēṯ Šīrōyē in the province of Sᶜert" (Barṣawm 1943, p.516). Gülten adds: "near Dēr Qīrā".

35. ZBDYQNᵓ: Barṣawm (1964, p. 29) has ZBDYQᵓ; Zabdicene is the Greek for Bēṯ Zabday.

36. Zrōᶜṭō d-Zaytē: There is a misprint in Barṣawm's book (1964, p. 29), where it reads ZRTᵓ D-ZYTᵓ.

End of the notes on the place-names

[G.6 has been sent uncopied to the publisher]

Title: /fol. I, p. 0/ In the strength and the support of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the one true God, we begin to write out the Book of Life according to the manuscript tradition (aṣeftō) of Bēṭ Svīrīnā.

Preface: /fol. I, p. 0/ In the manuscript which Mōr Īwānīs brought from the Patriarchate we found the following information: the manuscript from which he transcribed it had seventy-four pages and belonged to Bēṭ Svīrīnā, though it is now in the Patriarchate. The manuscript which the late patriarch Ephrem mentions in his book of *Scattered Pearls* was found by him at Bēṭ Svīrīnā; he affirms that it belonged to the monastery of Qartmīn and had one hundred and forty pages. Yet although the present Bēṭ Svīrīnā manuscript had seventy-two (*sic*) pages, some of its inner pages have been lost here and there. /1/ As for that of the village of Zāz, it had eighty pages and was copied in AD 1600, whereas that of Qartmīn was copied in AD 1490.

Comment: Ephrem Bilgiç of Bōṭē (1891-1984) took the name "Mōr Īwānīs" as bishop of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn; the reference to the patriarch Ephrem means Barṣawm (1943), p. 95, on which see the Introduction E.1, on the MSS.

Prayer: /fol. IV, p. 7/ Lord God the Compassionate, by the prayers of these saints who pleased Your Majesty by doing Your Will, all of whose names we have written in Your Book of Life, and by the prayers of all the just and the righteous from Adam until today, we perform the commemoration of all of them; expiate their sins and those of their departed ones and forgive the shortcomings of all those /V/ who are marked down and who will be marked down and written in the Book of Life which is here, and inscribe them in Your Book of everlasting and eternal Life, as many as have participated in the erection of churches and monasteries and who will participate from today onwards in everything that their hand can turn to good. Also the miserable sinner who wrote this and his departed ones, that he may rejoice, and his late relatives, /8/ in the Bridal Chamber of light with them, amen! And for our Lord's sake, may the Lord have mercy on them and on everyone who has a part in this holy church. The priests and the deacons and the laymen, our brothers, so that we too may be helped and may be rescued from hell by the pure intercessions and appeals of these same saints whose names we have written down, that they may intercede with God the Compassionate for the sake of us sinners and weak ones and for the sake of the faithful departed who have departed from this holy church, amen!

Comment: See the Introduction, E.4, and compare the prayer on fol. CII, pp. 168-9: "As God the Compassionate made atonement (ḥāsī) with His Blood for the wickedness of the world by His Crucifixion on the Wood in Sion, so may He also by His great Mercy blot out the faults and pardon (nḥāsē) and forgive the sins of all the departed whose names are written in this earthly book and may He write their names in His own Book of Life which is in the Heavenly Jerusalem, for ever and ever, amen!"

No. 1. [AD 1039/40] /fol. LVI, p. 91/ These books were copied in the days of Mōr Basīl, the metropolitan of Nisibis, and Mōr Īwānīs, the bishop of Gōzartō, from the same abbey and from the *castrum* of Bēṭ Svīrīnā, and the relatives of the same bishop (*sic*). And the bishop of the Abbey and these bishops forbade them by the awful word of the Lord to take out one of these books from the possession of the said abbey, in order to study and read in them; because many people hold onto the books for a long time and take them out of the abbey /92/ and then either purloin them themselves, or give them to others to read, then die, so that the books remain with the latter. If anyone has the temerity to break this rule, the Word of God itself will destroy him and curses and anathemas will be upon him. Now when he [*sc.* the Bishop?] went into the archive of this holy abbey in the year one thousand and three hundred and fifty-one of the Greeks; and it was in the hands of that chaste monk and virtuous priest and scribe, Mōr Solomon of Bēṭ Svīrīnā (pray for him!); and he found all the books and vestments and objects and liturgical furniture collected and stoutly bound (ḥīmīn; or read ḥmīlīn, "stored") in their place. Then the bishop and the monks and all the abbots pronounced a decree by the awful Word which comes from Him and from His holy Angels and the Fathers and Teachers and the Just and the Righteous and the Prophets and the Apostles and all who have done or who are doing the Will of God, the Lord of All, frightening and dreadful anathemas, harsher than the flame which melts mountains, harsher than the two-edged sword, (anathemas which) judge /LVII/ the innermost thoughts of men and which enter into the brain and the veins of every person /93/ who erases and scrapes clean, or cuts this record out of this book, or who conspires to alienate this book from this abbey of Qartmīn. But may the Lord pardon everyone who reads in it with faith and who prays for the forgiveness of (mḥāsē) all who were involved in it, and who is benefited by it and respects it!

Comment: Basil, a monk of Qartmīn, was made bishop of Nisibis by the patriarch John bar ᶜAbdūn (1004-1030) and was not succeeded until the reign of John IX (1041/2-1057); by "the bishop of the Abbey" (*sc.* of Qartmīn) is meant the bishop of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, who resided there - in this case presumably Īwānīs Zākay, from the monastery of ᶜĀbeḏ, who was ordained between 1031 and 1042. (See *Chr. Michael 1195*, Register of Ordinations, XXXI.19, XXXII.12, XXXIII.2) The bishop of Gōzartō does not appear in Michael's list, because he would have been ordained by the Maphrian of the East. The books here mentioned should be associated with the calligraphic revival initiated by Bishop John, a native of Bēṭ Svīrīnā, on whom see Palmer (1986, 1987: 116-19, 1989) and *Monk and Mason*, p. 221. It is an indication of the extent of loss that the present *Book of Life* contains only a distant echo of the report in *Chr. Gregory II*, cols. 417-20 (see No. 50). Compare the Introduction and No. 4, below.

No. 2. [AD 1099/1100] /fol. XLVII, p. 79/ In the year one thousand and 400 (MS: twice 400) and 11 (MS: 51) of the Greeks this holy abbey of Qartmīn was raided for the first time by hostile Turks together with the whole region of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn; and they sacked the abbey and the villages around it; and those raiders remained in it for fourteen days in all, plundering and sacking and destroying. And certain lawless camp-followers from the

Mardīn area joined them in plundering it, until everything in it had been spoiled. And the camp of their captains and their cavalry was inside the abbey. There was a great plundering of the abbey and of all its sacred furniture and every possession in it, objects of bronze and of iron, and vestments and curtains and lamps and books. This book, too, fell into their hands. They tore it up and cut many leaves from it in many places; and some of its leaves they took as far as Nisibis. But we made diligent researches until, by investigating in many places, we found the parts which had fallen out of it, after a large-scale search; and we took it and we saw that, of all the names that were in it, only one leaf was mislaid, containing some of the names of the faithful of this abbey. The rest we renovated in its entirety and we made a copy of it, though not one comparable with the original, because of the mediocrity of our knowledge. That is a consequence of this dark and trouble-filled time of ours, in which /81/ the abbey suffered from a dire lack of scribes and of readers and of clergy to lead the services; priests and deacons were hardly to be found. And in the same raid the Sō^{c}ūrō of the monastery died of hunger. And during the same raid the sons of Ṭūr ^{c}Abdīn took refuge below the castle of Ṣawrō. And people were in want in all countries; and a measure of wheat reached fifty dīnārs and perhaps even more, and barley likewise, and millet likewise; and six bushels of acorns (were sold) for a hundred dīnārs. And people were tormented by great shortage of food. The summer was over and God shortened His Blessing, to the point that a bushel of seed reached thirty and forty /L/ drēḫūnē, and two jars of grape-molasses (were sold) for a dīnār in Ṭūr ^{c}Abdīn itself. And from there the people went and sought shelter in the castle of Haytam; and there in that castle we renovated this book, under the direction of the sinner Basil, who is in the name of his bishop (*sic*).

Comment: Barṣawm (1964: 91-2) has a slightly different text, due in some places probably to his wish to correct the poor Syriac, or else to an error, but indicating in other places the reading of his MS, from which ours is derived. Thus Ṭūr ^{c}Abdīn is written with OLAF substituted for the ^{c}E; the camp-followers came from the area of M^{c}arē (but Barṣawm regards this reading as uncertain); the raiders had one captain, not several; the catalogue of the possessions of the abbey culminates in qīmēlē, "treasures"; and the narrative finishes as follows: "under the direction of the sinner Basil, who is in (*i.e.* shares) the name of his bishop, Basil Šamly of Bēṯ Man^{c}em." Bishop Šamly was responsible for the erection of a memorial at Qartmīn Abbey, which echoes our text in several phrases (see Palmer 1987, pp. 116-9 and *Monk and Mason*, pp. 224-5, with fig. 51). In publishing this inscription for the first time, Pognon (1907: 49) quoted the *Book of Life* from the MS later used by Barṣawm (see the Introduction, above); his text shows that AG 1851 is the date in the original (though he agrees with Barṣawm in correcting it to AG 1411), and that the uncertain place-name might be read as Merdō, "Mardīn". For the meaning of Sō^{c}ūrō, see *Monk and Mason*, p. 92 with n. 117.
N.B. "Bushel" and "jar" are translated *ad sensum*, without any precise idea of quantity.

No. 3. [AD 1166/7] /fol. XIV, p. 21/ And in the year 1478 of the Greeks (AD 1166/7), in the days of Michael I, patriarch of Antioch, Village-head Thomas, /22/ the son of Village-head Sōvō of the village of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, and his sons Rābān Simeon and Rābān

Abū 'l-Masīḥ and Abū 'l-Faraǧ, the sons of Village-head Thomas (*sic*), provided the funds to buy one third of the village of Bēṯ Svīrīnā from the Muslims, including their vineyards and their cisterns and their houses - about one hundred houses in all - for ten pounds of gold; as for the Christians, they constituted about two hundred households. This came about because there was a dispute between them; the Christians said to the Muslims, after they had eaten the Feast of the great Sunday of the Resurrection together: "Either you buy our inheritance, whether you sell or give us twenty pounds of gold (*sic*), or else we give you ten; for we are at least twice as many as you." And the Muslims took counsel together and decided to take the ten pounds of gold and to go and live in one of the ruins (*i.e.* ruined villages) on the plain; for the Muslims are lovers of gold. They weighed their gold (lit. the gold from them) and the sons of Bēṯ Svīrīnā were one pound short. And they went to the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, and borrowed one pound from it, in return for which we now pay tribute. (It was agreed) that the right hand of Mōr Gabriel should come once or twice every year and that they should give him grape-molasses and raisins and wheat and money /23/ for the lamps of the lamp-stands - for most of the lampstands are (the gift) of the faithful of Bēṯ Svīrīnā; may the Lord accept their vows and may He help us, by the prayers of the saints of the abbey, amen! Afterwards, the Muslims established that the weight of the gold given them by the Christians was ten pounds, the price (set) for their property. And they placed oaths between them and deeds were drawn up by their teachers and their judges (fuqahā^{ə} and quḍāt) that they would not return to the village of Bēṯ Svīrīnā. And they sneaked away (?) and descended to the plain in the south; but no one would receive /XV/ them in the villages on the plain. And afterwards they regretted in their hearts what they had done. But at the time of their departure from the village of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, Rābān Simeon, the son of Thomas, said to his father: "It would be very good if you gave me a hundred loads of lime and a hundred households and I shall go and live in that ruined village called Estīr; for I know that before long they will regret what they have done and will come back and live in that ruin of Estīr, right next to our vineyards, and instead of reaping benefit, we shall have bitter gall and loss, and every day they will inflict sufferings on us." This speech pleased his father and the priests and the faithful of the village; and they loaded (the pack-animals with) one hundred loads of lime, and one hundred /24/ households went with him; and they completed and raised a great vaulted chamber in the above-mentioned ruin, the one which stands there still today. And from that place the Muslims sent four or five men as messengers, to take counsel and come and live in the said ruined village. And they came and found Rābān Simeon building; and he had already built a couple of houses; and they asked him if they might come and live with him, but he rejected their request. And they went and reached the land of Šām, that is Syria; and after a time they brought foot-soldiers and cavalry and destroyed Kalšaṯ and Havnaṯ; and they reached Bēṯ Man^{c}em and Bēṯ Svīrīnā, but they achieved nothing (there). Instead, they returned with bitter gall, by the Will of God, praise to His Friends, who got them out of this village by the help of God and by the prayers of Mōr Gabriel, his prayer be with us! After the Muslims had left, Rābān Simeon came back to the village of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, he and those who had gone with him; and they began to tear down the mosque of the Muslims and their minaret. They took the stones from them and began to build

around their church a large courtyard with high towers; and they made it a defensible fortress (continued on fol. XXII, p. 35) with strong walls, around the church of Mōr Dōḏō and Mōr Āḥō and Mōr Osyō. And they built on the church of Mōr Isaiah a strong, broad tower. And they destroyed the castle or fortress in the village which had been in the hands of the Muslims, on the southern hilltop, between the church of Mōr Šalīṭō and the church of Mōrt Mary Magdalene. They also cleared away the stones of the mosque and used them to build the fortress around the church and many chambers for the sons of the village. And these late /36/ sons of the village-head Thomas built a wide and beautiful courtyard for a cemetery of nuns beside the church on the east side; and they built another courtyard beside the church with ten chambers in it, as a dwelling-place for the sister-nuns. And they built another monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God, Mary, to the east of the village, in the valley; and in it they built a tall tower for monk-recluses. And they perfected the church of Bēṯ Svīrīnā with everything required in the way of holy books and a beautiful silver and gold cross with a representation /XXIII/ of Christ on it, on (the front of) a beautiful parchment Gospel-Book containing the lectionary for the whole year's cycle, with beautiful paintings inside and writing in gold for all the feasts, and on the outer cover a lovely Crucifixion (lit. Dispensation) made of gold and silver. And they built an outer chamber for the women, and in it they dug the cistern which is in the yard . . . on the floor of the fortress . . . and they completed the church. And they (caused to be) copied out two Winter Fenqīṭōs on parchment for the whole year, and two other parchment books in the handwriting of the monks of Kafarsalṭē. And they copied for us two /37/ (complementary) antiphonal funeral-services of great richness, and three Gospel-Books, and a lovely book of the Anaphora, in the writing of Ḥabīb of Ḥabsenus; may the Lord be their pardoner! And they built many chambers in the abbey of Mōr Gabriel; and they built a large caravanseray in the village called Qurayya, on the road to the plain; and they built another big and spacious caravanseray in the village of Bēṯ Bayšan and another in Bēṯ . . . may God pardon them! (Anonymous note on fol. XIV, p. 21:) We did not find this in the MS, but as we have heard, this dispute and schism between the Muslims and the Syrians occurred (as follows): A certain sly Muslim committed an audacious and lascivious attack on a certain girl of the Syrians: he reached out, with his hand only, to satisfy his desire for her on the day of the Great Feast of the Resurrection. This is why these village-headmen were fired with righteous anger and expelled the Muslims from their company, (and they have stayed away) until now.

Comment: 1. Here we read about the erection, not the restoration, of the tower in the monastery of the Mother of God, which is called after Mōr Barṣawmō of the Northern Mountain, the patron saint of the extreme ascetics in the Syrian Orthodox Church. This means, I think, that the occupants of that tower who are mentioned in the Book of Life all postdate 1167. It is a tower, not a pillar; yet they are all called eṣṭūnōrē, "pillar-saints, stylites" (*cf.* fol. LXVII, p. 110, with *Monk and Mason*, p. 105). One of them, by name Matthew, is of particular interest: He went to Jerusalem, which entitled him to be called Muqaddasī, or Muqṣī; though a monk, he had a wife, Badra, who was a nun, and a son, Isaiah, who became a "Rabān". Badra's sister, Šmūnī, and her mother, Rachel, were

also nuns. (See foll. XIX, XCVI and CIX, pp. 30-31, 157-8 and 180.) These family relationships were clearly established before all these people entered the religious life; yet they were by no means dissolved by the religious profession. (It may possibly be intentional that Badra's name is sometimes written Bārida, "cold" - like a Daughter of the Covenant in No. 13, but it is more likely to be a slip of the pen.)
2. In an inscription of 1198/9 (Palmer 1987, pp. 89-91, with *Monk and Mason*, p. 226) Rabān Simeon, the son of Thomas, records his renovation of the church and his construction of a vault and a cistern; the inscription stands above the south yard of Mōr Dōḏō at Bēṯ Svīrīnā.
3. For the detachment of the right hand of Mōr Gabriel, see the *Qartmin Trilogy*, XC-XCII and *Cal. TA*, Aug. 31 ("on this day they cut off the right hand of Mōr Gabriel of Bēṯ Quṣṭan and took it to the *castrum* of Ḥaḥ, because of the disease of šarᶜūṭō"), with *Monk and Mason*, pp. 155 (with n. 52) and 157. The relic lent a ritual character and a divine sanction to the yearly or twice-yearly payments of "tithes", and provided the villagers with an opportunity for contact with the beneficial object at no cost to the monastery. This institution was well designed to remove resentment by compensating for material loss in spiritual kind, while at the same time ensuring regular payment.

In this connection it is worth noting that the people of Bēṯ Sīrīnā were unable to provide olive-oil for the lamps which they gave to the abbey and gave money instead, with which, no doubt, the monks bought oil from a better irrigated region.

No. 4. [AD 1168/9] /fol. LVII, p. 93/ And in the year one thousand [four hundred] and eighty of the Greeks, this book and the rest of its companions, seventeen volumes in all, from the bequest of Rabān Emmanuel, the chief of scribes, was bound and renovated by the sinner Gabriel, the brother's son of Mōr John, the bishop of the Abbey, whose family is from the *castrum* of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, and by his spiritual brother, Rabān Moses, the monk, from Kafarsalṭē. In this dark and trouble-filled time, when the Abbey was bereft of benefactors (yōṣūfē) and readers, all the choicest and finest books which were in it had been lost; we were only able to find a few tattered, disintegrating volumes. But their zeal (*i.e.* the devotion with which the books had been produced) obliged us to renovate them as best we could, so pray for us for our Lord's sake! The Lord knows how much labour and exhaustion, how much /94/ long-suffering and tribulation they caused us; and there was no one to help us. Yet with the help of God we restored and renovated and bound all of them, although not as they had been in their pristine beauty, because most of them had been destroyed. May God recompense each one according to his deeds, amen!

Comment: See *Monk and Mason*, p. 161, with n. 102, and Palmer 1989, notes 20 and 21, with the text to which they belong.

No. 5. [AD 1295/6] /fol. XLVIII, p. 78/ In the year one thousand and six hundred and 7 of the Greeks the Tatars came to the abbey of Mōr Gabriel and destroyed the cells and broke down the gates/doors; and they took from the temple (*i.e.* the conventual church) the chain which is on the altar, the like of which is not to be found in all the world, and

the three (stone) grids /79/ from the south windows and the window-grids from the sanctuary. And the monks fled that year to the region of Mardīn. And the monks sealed the entrance of the temple with stones and lime. And the Abbey was deserted for forty months, with no inhabitants at all. And the men of Mzīzāḥ came and entered the church of the Mother of God, in order to destroy the Table, that is the Throne; but a lioness came out at them and tore their clothes; and they fled and were in fear and trembling on account of this sight. And afterwards the bishop of the Abbey and the monks came and opened the entrance of the temple and settled (once more) in the Abbey. And this event occurred in the time of the first patriarch Mōr Ignatius whose residence was the monastery of Mōr Ananias near Mardīn, and of Mōr Ignatius, the bishop of the same abbey; may the Lord pardon them, amen! This deed of the accursed Tatars was perpetrated in the time of Qazan, the son of Ergun, king of the Persians, (both father and son being) sons of the King of Kings Hulaḫu, the Christian.

Comment: Compare Palmer 1987, p. 79 and *Monk and Mason*, p. 218.

No. 6. [AD 1296/7] /fol. CXVII, p. 194/ The pilgrim David, the carpenter, who crafted the door of the temple of Mōr Gabriel in the year 1608 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon him!

Comment: Compare No. 35, below.

No. 7. [AD 1338/9] /fol. LV, p. 90/ In the year one thousand and six hundred and fifty of the Greeks, Bishop John Joshua, of Bēṯ /91/ Svīrīnā, brought a relic of the holy Mōr ᶜZōzōyēl (Azazael) from the village of Kafarzē and placed it in the church which he restored in Bēṯ Svīrīnā; and he donated it as an inalienable possession to the sons of his brother, the priest Behnām; may the Lord pardon them! This same /LVI/ Bishop Joshua of the Abbey placed his right hand on the head of Bādārzōḫē bar Wāhib, when he was consecrated patriarch for Mardīn. And this man was chief of the bishops of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 195a, p. xxxviii, records that the Kurds of Tašlik came in 1415/6, taking advantage of the chaos resulting from the Mongol raids, and stole the portions of the right hand of Mōr Gabriel (*cf.* Nos. 3 and 45), together with the liturgical furniture of Qartmīn Abbey; they then went on to Kafarzē (misread by Wallis Budge) and stole the icon of the martyr Mōr ᶜZōzōyēl. This is one of the rare instances of an icon in the literature of the Syrian Orthodox church. cf. Chr. 1234 247 [tr. 131]

No. 8. [AD 1393/4] /fol. LXII, p. 102/ In the year 1705 of the Greeks the infidel Tīmūr Ḫān came and destroyed all the lands of the east, including Mossul, Mardīn, Ḥesnō ḏ-Kīfō and Ōmīḏ; only the castle of Hayṯam stood out against him and they could not take it by force. But he reached the monastery of the Abbey (dayrō ḏ-ᶜūmrō) and sacked it. And there was a cave there, below /LXIII/ the monastery, where more than five hundred souls, including the bishop of the Abbey and forty brother-monks, were hidden.

A band of marauders led by Bar Sīqāy, of the House of Tīmūr Ḫān, made a fire at the mouth of the cave /102/ and burned all of them; and they suffocated in the smoke which they put up against the cave; and their names were: Elisha of Bōṭē, the monk Jacob of Fōfyāṯ, the monk Aaron of Kafarbōbō, the monk Moses of Eštarkō, a solitary ascetic, who possessed nothing at all in the world, the monk George of Kafaršāmaᶜ and the priested monk Joseph of Bēṯ Svīrīnā; may the Lord pardon them! The monk Manṣūr of Qurayya, the monk Thomas of Zarǧel, the monk Barṣawmō of Ḥēdel, the priested monk Simeon of Midyāṯ, the monks Joshua and Gabriel of ᶜUrdnus, the monk Daniel of Kafarzē, the monk Gabriel of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk Rābān Joshua, the monk Rābān Lazarus and the monk Rābān Addai, all of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk Rabān Joshua of Bēṯ Svīrīnā and the monk Rābān Barṣawmō; may the Lord pardon them! Muqsī ("the pilgrim") Jacob and his sons, the priest Joseph and Simeon and Sergius, from Ḥazniyya; may the Lord pardon them! The monk Barṣawmō of Bōṭe, the monk Mahdī, the monk Qawmē of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk Aaron of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk John of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk Abraham of Fōfyāṯ, /103/ the monk Barḥaḏbšabō of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk John of Bēṯ Svīrīnā; may the Lord pardon them! Mōryōhev the priest, from Bēṯ Zrīzō, the priested monk Ṣlīvō, the monk David of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk ᶜAzīz of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the monk Benjamin of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the solitary Theodore, the priested monk Ṣlīvō, from the abbey of Mōr Matthew, the priested monk Lazarus, from Ḥaḥ, the priested monk Barṣawmō, from Mzīzāḥ, the priested monk Sōhḏō, the priest Rābān Simeon, the priests Solomon and Ananias, the monk Abū 'l-Ḥasan. And the aged Bishop Mōr John of the Abbey was suffocated with them in the cave of Bar Sīqī; may God pardon them! The priested monk Abū 'l-Ḥasan, the priest John and the priest ᶜAbd Allāh; these were monks from the holy abbey.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503*, foll. 193b.2-194a.1, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, has a similar account, except for two details: the castle which successfully resisted is named as Ḥesnō ḏ-Kīfō, not Hayṯam Castle; and the cave is called Barsīqāy, without any indication that this was the name of a marauding captain. The bishop is also given his baptismal name, Thomas of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, in addition to his official name, John. (A second, shorter, account is to be found in the same book on fol. 194b.1-2, p. xxxvii.) Br. Lib., Orient. 1017, fol. 2b contains the following note (see Wright 1870-72, p. 899 for the Syriac): "ᶜAzīz of Fōfyāṯ looked at this book when he was 75 years old, with weak eyesight and trembling hands, because I have copied down the name of the scribe, Rābān Barṣawmō, the desert monk, whose family is from Fōfyāṯ. He wrote out many books in our land of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, to the point that teachers used to come from far and wide to examine and to . . . his books and his splendidly formed letters . . . who was suffocated in smoke, he and the bishop of the abbey and forty monks, all told, and with them many [laymen] from this region, at the command of Bar Sīqī . . ."
In this passage from the *Book of Life* thirty-nine monks are mentioned by name, including one Rābān Barṣawmō who might be from Fōfyāṯ.

No. 9. [AD 1420/1] /fol. CVIII, p. 180/ The priest Addai of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the son of Rābān George, died on the first of December in the year 1732 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon him and his children!

No. 10. [AD 1422] /fol. CVIII, p. 179/ The deacon, Rābān Malkē of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the son of the priest Addai, nicknamed Ṣafōnō, died in the year 1733 of the Greeks, on the first of April, the month of flowers; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 11. [AD 1422] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Bishop Cyriac of the Abbey, from the house of TWMM' of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, died in the year 1733 of the Greeks in the month of August.

No. 12. [AD 1424/5] /fol. IX, p. 15/ The priest Isaiah of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, the son of Rābān Denḥō of Bēṯ Ǧağīm - may the Lord pardon them! Malfono Sōfqō, who taught seven schools of boys, some of whom (later became) bishops, and others priests and deacons; and he died in the year 1736 of the Greeks; and his sons, the priest Denḥō and the priest Joshua, a learned monk and teacher, and their mother, Daughter of the Covenant Badra; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 13. [AD 1424/5] /fol. XVI, p. 25/ The priest Isaiah of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, Universal Teacher and educator of boys, the son of Rābān Denḥō, and his wife, Daughter of the Covenant Bārida (*sic*, but compare No. 12), and their sons, the priest Denḥō and the priest Joshua, a monk, and Barṣawmō, a deacon; the priest Isaiah, their father, died in the year 1736 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them, amen! The priest Addai, the son of Rābān George, the son-in-law of the late priest Isaiah, and his mother, Mary, and his wife, Daughter of the Covenant Mary, and his sons, the priest Malkē and the priest George, a monk, and Paul, a monk, who died in Jerusalem; and the priest Addai, a sinner, their son, and his sons, the priest Qawmē and his brother, the deacon Isaiah, and the deacon Malkē and the deacon Denḥō and their sons, Joshua and George; may the Lord preserve their lives and those of their parents, and may He pardon /26/ their departed relatives, yea and amen! Pray for my mother, Daughter of the Covenant Rachel, and for my yoke-mate and wife, Daughter of the Covenant Susan, who donated this volume of the book of life to the church of Mōr Dōḏō out of (the earnings from) her own labour; may the Lord be forgivingly disposed to them!

No. 14. [AD 1424/5] /fol. LVIII, p. 95/ . . . The priest John of Bēṯ SWP', the priest Denḥō, the son of the priest Isaiah, the priest John, the son of Naṣr, the priest Bossus - four priests from Bēṯ Svīrīnā, who were ordained on one day and who fell ill on one day and who died on one day of the disease šarᶜūṭō; may the Lord give rest to their souls! They died in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six of the Greeks; and their spiritual father died in the same year, before them, the priest Isaiah of Bēṯ Svīrīnā; may God pardon them! (continued in No. 15)

No. 15. [AD 1431/2] /fol. LVIII, p. 95/ And their companion, the priest Joshua of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, died in the year 1743 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them, amen!

No. 16. [AD 1431/2] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Mōr John, who is Bishop Addai from Arbō, who died in the year 1743 of the Greeks.

No. 17. [Before AD 1442/3] /fol. LVII, p. 94/ My Lord, make a good commemoration and an acceptable memorial in front of Your High Bēma for our father the thrice-blessed bishop Mōr Philoxenos of the holy abbey of Qartmīn, who is Bishop Qawmē of Bēṯ Svīrīnā, because he donated /LVIII/ one hundred and fifty zūzē, the cost of a bronze cauldron (?) for Mōr Gabriel; and he donated a door for the Dome of the Egyptians, and he is the bishop of the abbey by the subsistence of his body (?), for the sake of his soul and of the souls of his parents, his father, the village-head Ǧafal, and his mother, Ġaliya, and his brothers, Simeon (and) Addai, and his brother's son, Joshua, and his sister Rūmiyya, so that they might have a part in the offering of sacrifices and prayers and services and in the *Book of Life* which is in this holy abbey. May his prayer be with us, amen!

Comment: Qawmē was transferred to the see of Ḥaḇ by 1442/3 (see Palmer 1987, p. 136) and became patriarch of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn in 1445/6 (see *Chr. Gregory III*, col. 819). On the last part of the prayer, see the Introduction.

No. 18. [AD 1451/2] /fol. L, p. 82/ And in the year 1763 of the Greeks, when Bishop George went to the Holy City (*sc.* Jerusalem) for the first time, he had with him his spiritual father, the priested monk Joshua, the son of the priest Isaiah, and his sister's sons, the priested monk George and Rābān Paul /83/ the monk. In that year the Muslims arose and took our church of Mōr Thomas and made it into a mosque; (this church had been a part) of the upper monastery (and they sequestered it) from the tenancy of that accursed monk Barṣawmō, the son of Ephrem, who became a son of Hagar (*i.e.* a Muslim). This man gave our father bishop and his companions a great deal of trouble that year; and when Bishop George arrived, the Syrians were left without a church. Afterwards Patriarch Ḫalaf of Mardīn went and bought a church for us from the Copts, a fine church with a monastery in it, under the invocation of the Mother of God, Mary, in the centre of the city. And Patriarch John bar Šayallāh bought another courtyard beside this church from the Muslims and donated it to the monastery of the Mother of God; may the Lord pardon him and his departed relatives. [. . .] in the vicinity of that courtyard which Bishop George bought, next to the monastery of the Mother of God, Mary; because the Syrians of the church of the Mother of God, Mary, told us that it was the house of Simon, chief of the Apostles; and when Simon escaped from prison and came to knock at the door of his house, and his daughter (*sic*) Rhoda came out and opened it; and he said to her, "I /84/ have escaped from the hands of Herod, out of prison. Now, all of you, hide!" (Acts 12, more or less!).

Comment: *L. John bar Shayallah*, fol. 84a, tells how John visited Jerusalem with the patriarch Ḫalaf at some date after 1468 and found that the church of St Thomas had been sequestered; they went on together to Egypt and requested the Coptic patriarch for permission to buy the church of the Mother of God in Jerusalem. Between 1474 (fol. 86a-b), when he was made bishop of Amida, and about 1485, John and the patriarch Ḫalaf again went to Jerusalem and to Egypt; this time the sale was completed and the

deeds were signed and sealed by prominent Moslem judges and teachers (*cf.* No. 3 above). They also bought some houses and included them in the courtyard of the church to provide accommodation for poor pilgrims (*cf.* No. 24 below). The church was a welcome relief to the Syrians in Jerusalem, who had been reduced to scuttling about at night from house to house with their liturgical books.

No. 19. [AD 1456/7] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Bishop Barṣawmō from Arbō, of the house of Zaqqāqī, died in the year 1768.

No. 20. [AD 1464/5] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ Also Bishop Malkē, his brother's son, died in the year 1776 of the Greeks.

No. 21. [AD 1473/4] /fol. XXV, p. 40/ And in the year 1785 of the Greeks the priest Addai, the carpenter, the son of Isaiah, raised and completed the wooden dome (ciborium) above the Throne (altar), and he adorned it beautifully with (carved and painted?) writing.

Comment: See *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 198b.1, p. xlvii, at the end of the report discussed in the note on 22.

No. 22. [AD 1476/7] /fol. XXV, p. 39/ The nun Šahlaʾ and the nun Elizabeth, the daughter of Naṣr, and also Peter, her brother's son, donated a fine black-and-white striped vestment to the church of Mōr Dōḏō for the sake of the souls of their late departed relatives, his father Barṣawmō, the son of Naṣr, and his paternal uncle, the priest John, and his son, John, /40/ who was killed when the church was being restored; and he provided funds and erected the sculpted wood above the wall of the great sanctuary; the work was executed by the craftsman-priest Addai, the carpenter, and the expenses and the wood were provided by the said Peter, in the year 1788 of the Greeks.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 198a.1-b.1, pp. xlv-xlvii, tells of the destruction and rebuilding of the church of Mōr Dōḏō under the year 1474; there was a big accident, in which fifteen men and two monks and a priest were killed. When the dust cleared, the reliquaries of Mōr Dōḏō, Mōr Osyō and Mōr Āḇō stood revealed in the sanctuary wall. When it was realized that no one at Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā knew the story of Mōr Dōḏō's life, it was discovered by asking certain Nestorian monks that the story was known at a monastery in Tabrīz, at Sīḏūs, the birthplace of Dōḏō. One of the monks of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā undertook the journey and brought back the text (in a rewritten, anti-Nestorian form!). It is briefly summarized on fol. II, p. 2 of the *Book of Life*: "Mōr Dōḏō of Sīḏūs, who is buried in Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, and whose body came in the hands of Mōr Isaac their maternal uncle's son; twenty years after it had been buried in the church of Tagrīt, /3/ his body was brought to Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā; and he raised a man from the dead on the day of his entry into the village and he became a great joy to all the faithful." A MS in Kirchardt belonging to the Demir family contains the story of Mōr Dōḏō of Sīḏūs (d. AD 619) and two subsequent tales: 1) how his body was brought to Espes, to the monastery in the Valley of Gehenna which is

under his invocation; and 2) (pages 286f) how it was brought from Espes to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and to Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, where a church was built under his invocation, and how it was the cause of miracles there (*cf. Monk and Mason*, p. 31-2, with n. 74). Interesting in connection with the theme of the cultural boundary between Roman Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Persia is the clear indication in this MS that Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was coterminous with the non-Nestorian territory on the Roman side of the border, and that Espes/Hespist lay on the Persian, Nestorian side of that border.

No. 23. [AD 1481/2] /fol. CXII, p. 186/ The priest Joshua and his wife and his sons, the priest Mubārak and Simeon and Ḥawšab, his brother, who died in the year 1793 of the Greeks of the disease of šarʿūṯō, together with eighty-five souls of the village of Fofyaṯ who died in that year; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 24. [AD 1489/90] /fol. L, p. 81/ And in the year 1801 of the Greeks, the bishop of the abbey, George, of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, went with his disciple Stephen and bought a fine, large courtyard in the Holy City (*sc.* Jerusalem) from the Muslims for two hundred /82/ golden dīnārs; and they donated it to the monastery of the Mother of God, of the Syrians, because it was near the monastery. It contained four fine rooms and a large upper room above them, and a water-cistern. (It was intended) as accommodation for the pilgrims who come to obtain a blessing from the Holy Sepulchre and from the Holy Places in which our Lord and His Holy Disciples dwelt. And he donated it for the souls of his departed relatives; may God pardon them! This same Bishop George provided funds for making a big silver cross, admirably fine, for the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, out of his own purse, for his soul and for those of his late parents. And the faithful of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā provided funds for the donation of the fine curtain across the entrance to the sanctuary of Mōr Gabriel at the cost of twenty-five golden ašrafī (Arabic: "ducats"). And they made this donation to the abbey for the sake of their souls and for those of their departed relatives; may God pardon them!

Comment: See the note on No. 18, above. *Chr. Addai 1503*, fol. 200a.1-2, p. 1, has a brief account of Bishop George's visit to Jerusalem in 1490.

No. 25. [AD 1491/2] /fol. CXXI, p. 202/ And Bishop Gabriel the son of Rābān Barṣawmō of Arbō, the son of their paternal uncle, died in the year 1803.

No. 26. [AD 1491/2] /fol. CV, p. 174/ Rābān Joshua of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, a monk, the son of the priest Moses, who died in the city of Ḥama; may the Lord pardon them! The priest Gabriel, the son of Joshua Bardʿānī, of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā; this man died in Damascus; may the Lord pardon them! Rābān Šābō, the priested monk, of Ṣalaḥ, our brother, died in Damascus; this was the son of Iwānīs. In the year 1803 these three brothers died on our way back from Jerusalem, and we buried them.

Comment: *Chr. Addai 1503* closes with an account of the author's journey, in which the circumstances of these three deaths are told (foll. 200a.2- 201a.2, pp. I-liii).

No. 27. [AD 1491/2] /fol. XCV, p. 156/ [. . .] The priest Gabriel of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā died /157/ at Damascus in the year 1803 on our way back from Jerusalem. (*cf.* No. 26)

No. 28. [AD 1495/6] /fol. CVI, p.176/ The unimportant Timothy, bishop of the castle of Ziyād (Ḫarpūṭ, in Anzitene), was present in the abbey of Qartmīn in the year 1807 of the Greeks. Pray for him!

No. 29. [AD 1496/7] /fol. CVI, p. 174/ Rābān Barṣawmō of Fōfyāṯ, the priest, the son of Zanbūrō /175/ taught in a school at the city of Ḥomṣ; he died in the year 1808 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon him!

No. 30. [AD 1501/2] /fol. CXIX, p. 198/ The priested monk Joshua and his son, the priested monk John, died in the year 1813 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them, amen!

No. 31. [AD 1501/2] /fol. CXXIV, p. 207/ [. . . (a list of names)] died of the disease of šarᶜūṯō in the year 1813 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them!

No. 32. [AD 1501/2] /fol. XXIV, p. 38/ And in the year 1813 of the Greeks the sons of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā took counsel together and arose and went to the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, they and their children and their womenfolk, and the priests with the village-headmen; and they tiled the great and spacious temple (*i.e.* the conventual church) of Mōr Gabriel, which is in the middle of the abbey, because much water had been coming into it in the winter. (That was) on the first of June; and in a week of days they had finished tiling both the east and the west slopes (of the roof). And so the work was finished by the help of God and by the prayers of Mōr Samuel and Mōr Gabriel; may the Lord help us by their prayers, yea and amen! This was the cause of great joy to our Father Bishop Stephen and to the monks, because the monks were not capable of doing the work themselves, and had been seeking the wherewithal to pay for such an expensive job. But zeal and love, instilled by the saints of the Abbey, took hold of the sons of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, /39/ as we have told, for the sake of the souls of their departed relatives and for the preservation of the life of their children; they also <brought> food and drink with them from their homes. And they came rejoicing and exultant, because God had answered their litanies and had caused the fatal epidemic to pass away from them.

Comment: For a picture of the tiled roof of this church in 1906, see Sykes (1915, facing page 356); the whole episode is comparable with the building of the monastery of Theodotos, on the mountainside above that of Mōr Ābay, at Qēleṯ (*L. Theodotos*, fol. 67a.1, *ad init.*): "And God fulfilled his heart's desire, and the people came unsummoned and flocked together to build it; and they came with bread and with wine, and worked in a spirit of exultation." In that case, however, the people had not, like the "sons of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā", just been delivered from the plague. It is probably due to the fragmented nature of the transmission that the writer appears to take for granted at the outset the

reason for this communal action on the part of the village; this may have been indicated by a passage connecting No. 31 with No. 32. This passage is the earliest which refers to the conventual church as that "of Mōr Gabriel", although this may be a shorthand for "of the monastery of Mōr Gabriel". Just as in the *Qartmin Trilogy* (LXI.2-3), the church is said to be "in the middle of the Abbey". It is interesting that Mōr Simeon, who in the past had often been named exclusively as patron of Qartmīn Abbey (see *Monk and Mason*, p. 73 n. 2), is here forgotten. Bishop Stephen of Qartmīn reigned from 1521 to 1539, according to Barṣawm (1964), p. 76 (Syr.), in spite of p. 96, and this agrees with p. 70, where we find the dates of the patriarch Joshua III of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, who consecrated him (references in the Arabic translation: pp. 254, 260-1, 279-80). However, Nos. 30, above, and 32, below, confirm the date AG 1813. Too little is known about Barṣawm's source here to give it credit against these three apparently independent entries in the *Book of Life*, especially since Dolabānī (1959, p. 198) seems very well informed about Stephen's ordination as bishop, which took place "on Sunday the fifth of January, AD 1496, in the church of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā, which is in the region of Hayṭam." 5.1.1496 was not a Sunday, however, though 5.1.1495 was.

No. 33. [AD 1501/2] /fol. XIII, p. 21/ In the year 1813 of the Greeks the following provided funds for and helped to reconstruct the church of Mōr Cyriac in the eastern part of the village, which had been totally ruined, and for the building of a beautiful temple dedicated to the martyr Sergius and to Mōr Bacchus, for the sake of their souls and of those of their departed relatives, and for the preservation of the lives of their children: The priests of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā and our Father, Bishop Stephen, and the village-headmen Rābān ᶜAzīz and Rābān Joshua, and Village-head Gabriel and Village-head Enoch and Village-head Ḥannā and Village-head Qawmē and all the faithful, great and small, of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā. May God deliver them from the sword and from slavery and from famine and from fatal epidemics, by the prayer of the Mother of God, Mary, and of all the saints, amen and amen!

Comment: This work is represented by Barṣawm (1964, p. 96) as a reciprocal gesture on the part of Bishop Stephen towards the village of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā.

No. 34. [AD 1723/4] /fol. CVI, p. 174/ Bishop ᶜĪsā from Mossul, the Keeper of the Apostolic Throne of St John the Evangelist at Mardīn, the occupant of which is the patriarch Šukrallāh of Mardīn, who lived in the church at Ōmīḏ, came here to visit us in the year 2035 of the Greeks; pray for us!

No. 35. [c. AD 1724-34] /fol. CX, p. 181/ George, the son of Simeon, donated a mulberry tree for the door of the temple /182/ of Mōr Gabriel, and Ṯimār, his wife, and Rābān Gabriel, his son; may the Lord pardon them! Ṣlīvō and his wife Zīna and Rābān Saᶜdō, the carpenter, their son, who made the door of the temple of Mōr Gabriel; may the Lord pardon them! [. . .] The priest Isaiah of Bēṯ Sṿīrīnā and his wife, Daughter of the Covenant Badra, and his sons, the priest Denḥō and the priested monk Joshua and

Barṣawmō; the priest Isaiah died in the year 1736 of the Greeks; may the Lord pardon them! Rabān Addai of Fōfyaṯ was killed in the year 1745 of the Greeks.

Comment: Compare No. 6.

No. 36. [AD 1732/3] /fol. LXXXVIII, p. 144/ Let me tell you, my beloved brethren, about this perverse age of ours and about the ordeals and prodigies that happened in it. When the 'LYYN came and took from us three flocks (?) of goats and killed the priest ᶜAzar, /145/ the son of the priest Joshua of Bēṯ Qammūqō, the chief and the governor of our village (remembered among the just and the righteous, amen!); and the people of Havtaḫ (HBTKY') went and killed two men of the 'LYYN; and they arose and went to Ḥamza Baġ in Mōrbōbō; and that evil man arose and gathered seven thousand men from the whole of their territory, four thousand GWHŠKY' and three thousand 'LYYN; and they came to our country and burned ten villages; and they reached the church of Bēṯ Dēbē and burned in it three hundred and fifty souls, men, women and children from Ṣaliyīn. These things happened in the year 2044 of the Greeks.

No. 37. [AD 1748/9] /fol. XCIII, p. 153/ Bishop Jacob, from Bēṯ Svīrīnā, was ordained on the second Sunday of the Dispensation, in the year 2060 of the Greeks, by the Maphrian Mōr Basil Denḥō of ᶜUrdnus.

No. 38. [AD 1749/50] /fol. LXXXVI, p. 140-1/ Bishop Jacob from Bēṯ Svīrīnā examined this copy of the volume of the *Book of Life* in the year 2061 of the Greeks.

No. 39. [AD 1794/5] /fol. XCVIII, p. 161/ In the year 2106 of the Greeks the monk Ġarīb died, who was the steward of the church of Mōr Dōḏō; and he left in the church his cassocks with a girdle, which was a silver belt; and with the funds raised from it a dome was made, with the help of all the people of Bēṯ Svīrīnā; may the Lord pardon them, amen!

Comment: Compare No. 21 (a wooden dome over an altar).

No. 40. [AD 1852/3] /fol. LXXXIII, p. 135/ Pray for Mark, who copied out the Gospel-Book for the monastery of Mōr Gabriel and who bound another Gospel-Book (belonging to the monastery) of Mōr Gabriel - may the Lord pardon him! - in the year 2164 of the Greeks.

No. 41. [undated] /fol. I, p. 1/ The faithful king Theodosius II and his father, king Arcadius, the brother of Honorius the faithful solitary and king, who ate no meat and drank no wine all the days of his life and never married. Also, their father, Theodosius I, along with Constantine, the son of Helena; and Anastasius, that just king, all of whom in their time gave us holy canons and laws.

Comment: There is no reference to the buildings funded by these emperors at Qartmīn Abbey (see *Monk and Mason*, chapters 2 and 4). *Cal. TA* and *Chr. Qartmin 819* also omit to mention these benefactions. Does the silence of these two sources weigh heavily against the only witness to them, the insecurely dated and partially legendary *Qartmin Trilogy*? Against this argument from silence we may note that the prominence given to Theodosius II, Arcadius, Honorius and Anastasius in No. 41 and in *Cal. TA* is not explained by the curious statement that they "gave us holy canons and laws".

No. 42. [A list of saints, here reduced to essentials] /foll. I - VI, pp. 1 - 9/ Longinus, spiritual father of Bossus; Bossus; Susan, sister of Bossus; Stephen the deacon, who converted Bossus; Romana; John (A) (A = Company of Awgīn); Awgīn (A); Malkē, sister's son of Awgīn (A); Elisha, friend of Malkē (A); Isaiah of Aleppo (A); Qōyūmō (A); John the Arab (A); Šaliṯō of Mount Izlō (A); Father Salārō and his mother (A); Elizabeth (A); Jacob of Nisibis (A); Solomon of Arkāḥ in *Leg. Malke*; Euṯal; Ananias, the son of NYQYN'; John; Gāwōn; Denis; Simeon; Abraham; John Christopher; Ṭūvōnō; Barṣawmō, bishop of Kafartūṯō; Lucian the martyr; Āḥō (I), of the monastery of Fnōṯ; Abraham, companion of Āḥō (I); Ḥēwōrō, disciple of Āḥō (I); George; Daniel; Daniel of Aġlōš; Eulogius 'RḤ'/'RYY'; Abba Daniel of Skete; Daniel of the Beetles; Mīnō (Menas); Marūṯō; Moses; Kosmas and Damianus; Šmūnō and Gūrīyō; Ḥabīb, the confessor, of Edessa; Mīnō (Menas), martyr; Āḥō (II), of the monastery near Fanek Castle; John, brother of Āḥō (II) (also John of Anḥel, in Arzon); John of Kfōnē; Dīmeṯ; Dōḏō; Isaac, Dōḏō's maternal uncle's son; Āḥō; Osyō; Isaiah; Sergius and Bacchus, martyrs; George, martyr; Šmūnī and her seven sons; Eleazar, spiritual teacher of Šmūnī's sons; Thomas the Apostle; Qawmē; Daniel the Wise; Mary Magdalene; Elijah; Šaliṯō; John the Baptist; Barbara; Juliana, spiritual sister of Barbara; Barṣawmō, the Chief of the Mourners; Aḫsnōyō; Ḥabīb, the martyr; Azazael the Glorious; Pinḥes; Palladius (PLD); Zoḫē (Nicholas), the bishop of Myra; Simeon the Stylite; Abḥāy, bishop of Nicaea; Ṣlīvō; Moses; Job; Moses; Elijah; Barḥaḏbšabō; Melchizedek; Thomas; Jacob; Solomon; Ḥabīb; Melchizedek; Denḥō; Zechariah; Thomas; Cyriac; Zvīnō; Moses; Šem Tamīm; Denis the Aramaean; Peter; Denḥō; Daniel of Mōrbōbō; Moses; Barṣawmō; Moses the stylite; the 12,000 blessed ones of Qartmīn; John the Bedouin; the eight hundred Egyptians and their two disciples; Aggai; Rabūlō, the bishop of Edessa; Aaron of Srūġ; Elijah of Ṣalaḥ; Nicodemus; John Nōqār; John, the son of Malkē; John, the son of Euphemianus; John, the Easterner; Sarah, sister of John the Easterner; John, the son of Zebedee; John of the Cliff; John of the Cistern; John the Arab; John the Baptist; John the Compassionate, patriarch of Alexandria; John Saᶜōrō; John of KMWL; Simeon Salos; John, spiritual brother of Simeon Salos; John, the patriarch of Constantinople; Ananias, Azarias and Mishael; John of Daylām; Abraham of Kaškar; Abraham of Jerusalem; Ṭalyō of Bēṯ Sōḥḏē; Šavṯay; Theodotos; Būsīnō; Qardaġ; Zvīnō; Elisha; Thomas the Egyptian; Abba Micah the Humble; The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia; Abba Mark; Abba Gavrūnō; Abraham the Roman (or "the soldier"); Cyriac and his mother Julitta; The Martyrs of Naġrān; Lazarus; Bābāy of Nisibis; John of Anḥel, in Arzōn; John the Arab; Andrew; Simeon, the Palestinian; Behnām; Sarah, sister of Behnām; the forty companions of Behnām, martyrs; Bossus;

Susan, sister of Bossus; Longinus, spiritual teacher of Bossus; Abḥay and his friends; Gabrālōhō and his 100,000 companions; Jacob, the Recluse and the Egyptian; Jacob the Teacher; Jacob the Dissected; Ephrem the Teacher; Isaac, disciple of Ephrem; Addai the Apostle; Theodore; Agripos; Lawrence with his companions.

Comment: Compare the check-list of church-dedications in Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn in *Monk and Mason*, p. 136 n. 139, *Cal. TA* and the contents of hagiographical collections from the area, such as Istanbul Yeni 196 and Sachau 221, for which see the Prolegomena to the edition of the *Qartmin Trilogy*, above.

No. 43. [undated] /fol. VI, p. 9/ Mōr Samuel the first abbot of the holy abbey of Qartmīn and Mōr Simeon his disciple from Qartmīn, who used to bring his master water in a basket made of twigs. Abba Cyrus (QWRYS), Abba Abraham and Mōr John and Mōr Stephen, Mōr Mārōn with Mōr John and Mōr Simeon and Mōr Ābāy, Mōr Simeon and Mōr Zūṭo. And Mōr Daniel, abbot and first bishop who resided in the holy abbey of Qartmīn. Mōr Severus and Mōr Athanasius, Mōr George, Mōr Sergius the abbot (*sic*) /10/ of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, Mōr Gabriel, bishop of the holy abbey, from Qūṣṭay village in the land of Ḥaḥ, and Mōr Simeon of the Olives, who was resurrected after being trodden underfoot in the crush of people on the day of the burial of Mōr Gabriel, Mōr Athanasius, the archbishop, and Mōr Abraham, Mōr Gregory, Mōr Qūṣṭay and Mōr John, Mōr Stephen, the abbot of the monastery of solitaries in this mountain of ours, Mōr Elijah the Good, Mōr Severus, Mōr Samuel and Mōr Qūṣṭay, Mōr Aaron and Mōr Isaac, Mōr Joshua, the abbot of the House of Mōr Ḥvīšō, Mōr Cyril, Mōr Īwānīs, Mōr Moses, Mōr Ignatius, Mōr Moses of the Ḥvīšō (*sc.* monastery?). Mōr Moses of Kfōnē and Mōr John of Tagrīt, Samuel, Solomon, Lazarus, Mōr Michael, Mōr Abel the first stylite who arose in the monastery of the abbey, which was marked out by the angels. Mōr Cyriac the Elder, Daniel, Tūṭaēl, Jacob the Elder, George, Gabriel, Sergius, Mōr Daniel, /VII/ Mōr Thomas, Stephen, /11/ Sergius, with Joshua, Abraham, Abel, Michael, Abraham, Mōr Āḥūḏēmēh. Abraham, Elijah, Sergius, Daniel, Andrew, John the Younger, Simeon, Heraklius, Mōr Job, Constantine, John, Sergius, Gabriel, Daniel, Jovinian . . .

Comment: Compare section 12 of the *Life of Samuel* and Barṣawm (1964), pp. 85-6.

No. 44. [undated] /fol. LXVII, p. 101/ Again we pray for the fair souls of the stylites of this holy abbey; may the Lord involve us in their prayers, amen! Abel the stylite, Cyrus the Old, Matthew, Daniel the stylite, John, Euthal, Jacob the Old, Gabriel, George, Sergius, Daniel; may the Lord pardon us by their prayers, amen!

Comment: Note the differences from my quotation of this passage in *Monk and Mason*, p. 77 n. 30 (Euthal may be a name in its own right - *cf.* No. 42, the 17th name - but Tūṭaēl the stylite is one of the holy men of Qartmīn Abbey in the *Qartmin Trilogy*, XXII.9; the second Daniel is missing from my quotation). On Abel the stylite *cf.* No. 43.

The word "stylite" appears to cover some other kinds of recluses, too (*cf.* note on No. 3, above).

No. 45. [undated] /fol. IX, p. 15/ And the son-in-law of the priest /X/ Isaiah, the priest Addai, the son of Rabān George; may the Lord pardon them! And his sons, the priest Malkē and the priest George, a monk, and Rābān Paul, a monk; may God pardon them! And their mother, Daughter of the Covenant Mary, the daughter of the late priest Isaiah, and the sons of her sons, the priest Addai, the son of the priest Malkē, and his sons, the priest Qawmē, Rabān Isaiah and Rābān Malkē; may the Lord pardon them! They provided funds and copied out this book full of life (or "full of the living") /16/ for the sake of their souls and of those of their late relatives, amen!

No. 46. [undated; before 1496? (*cf.* Introduction, Context)] /fol. XLV, p. 74/ Some monks from Ḥesnō, who were staying in the monastery, opened up the tomb in which the body of our Father Abbās and (*sic*) Mōr Gabriel, the bishop, and they took out the holy body; and the whole body was preserved and it had not been corrupted /75/, except for his hands and his feet and his beard and his skin, although it was many years since he had died. And those monks took off all the clothes that were on him and threw them down; and they went out by night from the abbey, those monks from the New Monastery of Ḥesnō (dayrō ḏ-Ḥesnō Ḥḏātō). God sent his wrath against them, because they had stolen the holy body, and he aroused the Kurds and gave them dominion over them; and they killed one monk of their number near the village of Qartmīn. When we heard of this unobserved occurrence from the people of Qartmīn, we left the Abbey and arrived at the village of Qartmīn, seven brother-monks and forty priest(ed monk)s; and we saw the holy body and we saw the dead man, who had been killed because he had been one of those ten monks; and he had been a priest. As for his companions, who had stolen the holy body, they got a beating and their bodies were weakened, so they left their companion dead. We, however, took the dead man and put him on a bier and took him to the Abbey, where we placed him in the temple; then we placed the holy body of Mōr Gabriel on a burial-bench in the House of Saints. . . . of the robber-monks.

No. 47. [The priest Addai's colophon, written, according to Barṣawm, in 1496] /fol. CXXV, p. 208/ Of your kindness, discerning brother, who meet with this volume of the *Book of Life*, say a prayer of atonement for the weak Addai who penned it and for his parents, amen!

No. 48. [The priest George's colophon, written in 1959] /fol. CXXVI, p. 208/ It is completed, by the strength of God (praise to Him for ever!), /209/ according to the exemplar shown to us by Mōr Īwānīs Ephrem, bishop of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn, who took part in the the election made by the assembled Fathers in the patriarchal *triclinium* at three o'clock of the afternoon on Tuesday, 14 October, AD 1957, in the *triclinium* of the patriarchate at Ḥomṣ.

No. 49. [There follows a list of the bishops of the Syrian Orthodox Church at that date and an account of the patriarchal election; then the colophon of the scribe, Ken^{c}an, the son of Denḥō and Šmūnī, of Fōfyāṭ, dated 1986, and a list of the bishops of Midyāt (continued up to the present), from the history of Severus Ephrem, metropolitan of Syria and Lebanon, written in 1924.]

No. 50. [Like the *Book of Life* of Aleppo, our MS contained lists of the three Ecumenicla Councils, certain Church Fathers and the Patriarchs of Antioch recognized by the Syrian Orthodox, a list of the Maphrians of the East and certain bishop-lists; the lists are now fragmented and incomplete (fol. II, p. 3 - fol. III, p. 5; fol. VII, p. 11 - fol. XII, p. 19; fol. XXXIV, p. 55 - fol. XXXVI, p. 58). In bringing the list of patriarchs up to his own time, the compiler, Addai of Bēṭ Svīrīnā (d. c.1503) also mentioned "Ignatii" in Ṣalaḥ, *i.e.* the patriarchs of Ṭūr ^{c}Abdīn, and one rival patriarch of Ṭūr ^{c}Abdīn. This part of the compilation has a local flavour; but it is surprising that a native of Ṭūr ^{c}Abdīn anathematized Athanasius Sandlōyō and failed to mention that two other legitimate patriarchs were Qartminites. On fol. III, p. 5 is a passage concerning Bishop John, the calligrapher, and his famous nephews Emmanuel and John Niḥē, which seems to have a Svirinite flavour; this may be an echo of a longer report in the original Qartmīn *Book of Life* (see Palmer 1986, p. 57). The list of Maphrians is broken off after the sixty-fifth, Athanasius Abraham; but six more Maphrians are mentioned in other contexts.]

No. 51. The final colophon: /p. 217/ This was copied from the MS in the library of the abbey of Mōr Gabriel, which was penned in the year AD 1959 for the late Bishop Īwānīs Ephrem of Bōṭē, by his disciple, the priest George of Mōrbōbō, the son of Šabō Gabrē of Kafarzē, according to the exemplar of Bēṭ Svīrīnā, from which Mōr Īwānīs copied it; he did not note in which year (it was written), because he did not see it.

END

[This photograph has been sent uncopied to the publisher.]

Fig. 7: THE CAVE OF BARSİQAY, NEAR THE ABBEY OF QARTMİN, WHERE LOCAL PEOPLE TOOK REFUGE FROM THE MONGOLS IN VAIN (No. 8, A.D. 1395)

End of the Narrative Sections of the Book of Life

End of the Microfiche Supplement